

# DISCOURSE OF THE PLAGUE;

Wherein Dr. Mead's Notions  
are Consider'd and Refuted.

By GEORGE PTE M. D.

— Neque quidem assequi possum, cur natura ipsius pestis fuerit reddita crudelior aut immanior in regionibus magis temperatis, quam sit in intemperatis. Quod si doctrina vel consuetudo regionum temperatarum propensius reddat magistratus vel medicos, inhumanis illis infectorum cohibitionibus, vel peioribus medendi methodis, quam quae vulgo invalescunt apud barbaras dictas nationes, magisque situ intemperatas, dignemur tandem ab his honestis nonnunquam discere, & ab his ignaris bene instrui. Ne sit ullis adeo de sententia discedere, quandocunque est erronea, etsi a pauculis viris probis propterea collaudentur. *Dissertat. de Peste a Gualtero Harris, p. 34.*

L O N D O N,

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BY GEORGE P. E. M. D.

The following information was obtained from the records of the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, regarding the land owned by the United States in the State of California.

The total area of land owned by the United States in California is approximately 100 million acres. This land is divided into several categories, including National Forests, National Monuments, and other public lands.

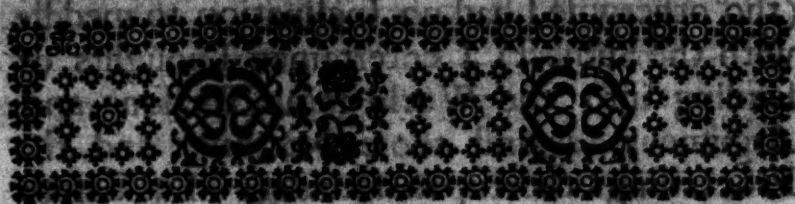
The following table shows the distribution of land ownership in California:

| Category           | Area (Acres) |
|--------------------|--------------|
| National Forests   | 60,000,000   |
| National Monuments | 20,000,000   |
| Other Public Lands | 20,000,000   |

This information was obtained from the records of the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, dated January 1, 1980.

*[Faint, illegible text]*





THE  
PREFACE

**T**HERE is no one surely so void of natural Affections, as not to be extremely moved with the Miseries of the poor distressed People in *France*: The Pestilence is the least Part of their Sufferings: The unnatural Notions they are terrified with, the inhuman Restraints they are put under, together with the other cruel Methods of Treatment they are forced to undergo, render their Case much more deplorable than the Pestilence it self would make it. But what, with regard to our selves, has still a more melancholy Aspect, is, that by some Enchantment, as it were, or Fatality, we seem to be under a Necessity of following them to our Ruin and Destruction in all their Schemes and Proceedings. Being willing therefore, as much as in me lay, to prevent the like Notions and Methods from

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prevailing, and from being instituted here (tho otherwise I had no Inclination to meddle with the Subject) I entertained Thoughts of sending into the World some Reasons and Arguments against those Notions, and the Proceedings thereupon founded. But before I had enter'd upon this Design, there appear'd in publick a Discourse concerning the Plague, by Dr. R. Mead. This occasioned me to stop short, and change my Purpose: for tho I soon perceived, it was a Discourse wherein nothing was establish'd; yet when I considered the Force of Prejudice, how common it is for prepossessed Imaginations to see and perceive things invisible and without existence; and also that the Prejudice was strong and universal, as well in favour of the Doctor, as of the Notions he espoused; I could not help concluding that very probably the Doctor, without any Arguments, might prevail against the plainest and the fullest, and even bear down self-evident Truths. I was willing therefore to excuse my self the Task of striving against the Stream; being in hopes too that some more fit Person might undertake it. But no body having all this time appeared, and the Cause of Mankind requiring it, I have at length determined to make publick the following Arguments.

THE Notions against which they are principally level'd are, That the Plague is communicated, or, in the common way of speaking, is catched from sick Persons; and That it  
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is conveyed from one Place to another by Commerce. If these had been speculative Notions only, I should not have troubled my self or the World with my Opinion concerning them: But alas! if not our own, the woful Experience of others, may inform us that numberless are the real Evils and Mischiefs proceeding from them. I shall enumerate some few, such as more readily occur to my Thoughts; by which, however, may be seen the dreadful Consequences of those Notions.

1. IF the People are made to believe the Plague is communicated from sick Persons, and by Commerce, of course they will be afraid of catching it, and thereby be necessitated to pass their Lives in continual Fears and Apprehensions of something very dreadful and deadly.

2. IF the Plague can be conveyed by Commerce, then Quarantanes are proper and requisite; and Quarantanes must occasion a great Decay of Trade, if not the entire Ruin of some Branches of it: Hence a Flood of Evils, the ruin of Merchants, Manufacturers, and other Traders, deficient Customs, Loss of publick and private Credit, Poverty, Starving and Destruction.

3. FEARS and Frights expose us greatly to the Evil we are most afraid of; not only as they have a tendency to weaken and disorder the Peoples Constitutions, but also by means



means of some secret Cooperation of Imagination with the Cause of the Sickness feared. This is commonly seen in the Case of the Small-Pox; and the Power of the Imagination is still more evident, from the Instances of the Longings of breeding Women.

4. IF these Notions prevail, and the Plague should happen amongst us; the Sick will be deserted by Friends, Relations, and others, and too often be left to perish for want of proper Care and Assistance. And those that are well, will be distracted between the Desires their natural Affections may suggest and raise in them to visit their sick Friends, and the Fears and Dreads of catching the Disease: If they refrain, both the Sick and the Sound must suffer grievous Uneasinesses and Disquietudes on that account.

5. UPON these Principles the most inhuman Restraints and Confinements are not only justifiable but absolutely necessary: And what Anxieties and Perturbations of Mind must People be tormented with, when they find themselves shut up with the terrible Destroyer, to remain in continual and extreme Danger of perishing, without being permitted to pursue such Measures as they may judge proper and sufficient to secure themselves and Families from the impending Mischief? Their Danger will still be greater, and their tormenting Thoughts more racking and continual, by being debarred from their ordinary Em-

Employments, Exercises and Diversions, by which otherwise they might sometimes be amused and diverted. Restraints must likewise occasion a great want of wholesome Provisions, which must farther augment the Distraction and the Mortality. In short, shutting up People within Walls or Lines, is shutting them up amidst, and exposing them to, Famine, Plunder, Murder, Pestilence, and Despairs more dreadful than all the rest.

WHOEVER shall consider that the foregoing, and a great Train of Evils besides, are the natural Consequences of the Notions mentioned, will soon be convinced that it must be very much for the Good and Happiness of Mankind, and therefore very much to be wish'd by every one, that those Notions should be proved erroneous: And certainly an Undertaking which falls in with the Interests and the Desires of all, must meet with the Approbation of all.

THO it must be plain and obvious to all who consider it, that the hearing fairly and impartially every thing that is to be offer'd on either side of a Question, for or against any Notion or Opinion, must be the most reasonable, and indeed the only Method of coming at the Knowledge of what is right and what is wrong, and that there is no other Way to Wisdom and Happiness; yet how very few are there who seek this Way and pursue it? The Reason of this cannot be that

Mankind chuses to be in the wrong; no, every one professes to desire, and I am verily perswaded does desire, to be knowing and wise: But the Misfortune is, they have been led out of the Way insensibly by Education, Passion, Custom, or Usage, &c. and not being sensible of it, they of course continue out of the Way. This Misfortune, I am apt to think, is generally derived from our first Education; for instead of being taught to examine every thing, and to judge of every thing, we are instructed from our earliest Infancy to receive and admit the Notions or Opinions of our Parents, Masters, &c. without Enquiry or Examination. This in time becomes habitual, so that even after we are grown up, when any Question or Opinion is offer'd us, instead of making our selves Judges as we ought, we are apt immediately to make our selves Parties, and to espouse, perhaps with Vehemence, one Side, before we have heard or made Enquiry what can be said on the other. This judging before-hand, and not from the Merits or Evidence of things, is commonly termed Prejudice; and when once we are habituated in this Way, we are readily disposed to Prejudices of all sorts: Hence many times we happen to be prejudiced, we know not why, only because we chance to take a fancy to certain Notions and Opinions; sometimes we like them because they fall in with our usual Way of thinking; sometimes be-  
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cause they are the Notions of some Person for whom we have a great Esteem, and sometimes only because they are in Fashion, or the Opinions of the Multitude.

SHOULD a Judge in Civil Affairs decide in favour of one Party, not having heard the other, or not having done it with Candour and Impartiality, he must be accounted an unjust Judge, even tho he should have happen'd to determine in favour of those to whom in reality the Right did belong: Neither would it be accounted any Excuse, if it should be said, that he liked the Complexion or Aspect of one better than that of the other, that he had been longer acquainted with one than with the other, or that the favoured Party had been recommended by a Friend whom he greatly esteemed.

IF then we would regulate our Conduct aright, it is absolutely necessary we should know what is right; but we cannot determine what is right, if we do not carefully and impartially enquire, examine, and hear. The Points contained in the following Discourse are of the greatest Moment and Importance, and in which every Man is deeply interested; let every one therefore not only see with his own Eyes, but with his Eyes wide open too: and having carefully divested himself of every kind of Prejudice, let him with Candour and Impartiality weigh and compare the Evidences on both sides, and judge accordingly.

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As it has been a generally received Opinion, that the Small Pox is caught from sick Persons, thence People may be apt to argue that the Plague is catching too. But tho the Small Pox is a peculiar Distemper whence nothing could be rightly argued with respect to the Plague; yet that no one may carry along with him any Prejudice on that account, I think it proper to acquaint the Reader, that many of the following Arguments, if applied, will prove that the Small Pox is not caught being by near the Sick: besides which, some stronger may be urged. But I have avoided saying any thing of that Disease, not only because I have been obliged to write these Sheets in more hurry than I could have wished, but also because I would not confound People with a variety of Subjects.

IN refuting the foregoing Notions concerning the Plague, I have been obliged to oppose a Man greatly in vogue; but the Town sure will readily excuse it, since it is in their Cause, and in the Cause of Mankind, that I have engaged: and if this Opposition proves successful, the Town will have the most reason to rejoice and to triumph; for theirs will be the Comfort, the Safety, and Emolument.

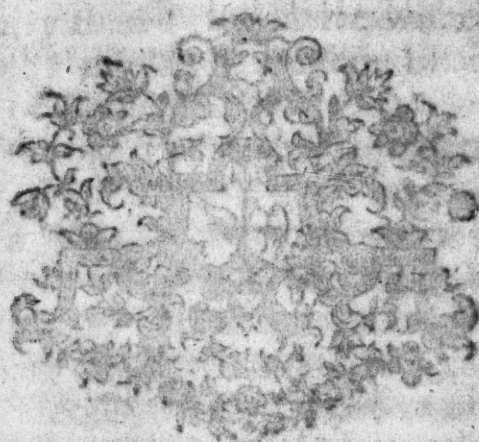
As to the Doctor, I have treated him with all the Tenderneſs, Circumstances would permit. I have not concerned my ſelf with any thing merely perſonal, nor have I ever gone  
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out of my way to find Faults : But if in the course of the following Inquiry, it shall have been necessary to expose his Nakedness to the view of the World, he has no one to blame for it but himself ; the Occasion was not of my seeking : He should not have bid publick Defiance as a Champion, till he had been well assured of his Strength and his Arms.





of the world to find a man; but in the  
case of the following family, a man  
has been found to do so. His name  
is that of the world, and he has no one  
to whom he is related. The occasion was  
not of a festive kind; it should not have  
been so. Hence as a consequence, all he had  
been well known of his family and his  
name.



C. H. A. P.

## CHAP. I.

### *Of the PLAGUE; What it is.*

**I**N order to settle aright and determine what is meant by the Plague, or what it is; it may be proper to premise, (1.) That by the Plague is meant the Plague of Pestilence. (2.) That the Plague is a Sickness or Disease; and not a real Poison, as Dr. Mead says \*, perhaps by mistake. (3.) That the Symptoms of the Plague in different Countries, and at different Times in the same Country, have been very various and different. (4.) And that there is not any one, or at least not any one distinguishing, Symptom, which constantly accompanies it.

THESE Observations are founded in Fact, and can stand in need of no Proof to such as have been conversant in historical Accounts and Descriptions of Plagues; and as for those who have not, they will best be convinced

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\* Mead's *Discourse*, p. 18.

of the Truth of them by consulting any two or three Authors, who have written Histories of different Plagues.

FROM these Observations it is evident, that the Plague is not always one and the same Disease. And that it does not always arise from one and the same Cause, may be made appear, not only from the foregoing, but from many other Observations; but I think one Instance will be sufficient.

DR. KEYES, speaking of the sweating Sickneses in England and Germany, makes the following Remark: \* *Ad hæc, hi [Germani] nostro acre & contagione non leduntur, sed suo; nos non suis illorum, sed noster inficit. Illud nostra hujus anni contagio monstrat: Hoc sua anni 1529 confirmat.* Moreover these [the Germans] are not hurt with our Air and Contagion, but with their own; and our own Air infects us, and not that of theirs. Our Contagion of this Year shews the former: And theirs of the Year 1529 confirms the latter.

HERE we see, that the Cause, whatever it was, which affected the Germans, did not hurt us; and the Cause which injured us, did not affect the Germans: This could not have been, if the Causes had not been different; for that which did not produce the Sicknes in us, could not be the same with that which did; and that the difference did not consist

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\* Cui de Feb. Ephem. Britan. new Edition, p. 66.



in degree of Strength and Force only, is plain, because that which did not hurt us, did yet destroy the *Germans*, as strong and hale a People as we ; and if the difference did not consist in degree of Strength and Force, then it must have been a difference in Nature and Kind. Since therefore the Causes as well as the Symptoms are various and different ; neither the Symptoms nor the Causes can be brought into the general Description or Definition of the Plague

IF by Contagion be meant, the Contagion of the Air according to the antient way of speaking, then the Plague may be said to be a contagious Disease: but since the Moderns have restrained the Sense of that Term, and made it to signify only a Power to communicate the Disease from one Person to another ; the Plague cannot be allowed in this sense to be contagious ; because, as will be shewn in the following Papers, it is neither caused, nor propagated in that manner.

IT seems to me therefore, that nothing more can be comprehended in the Notion of the Plague, when it is spoken of in general, than that it is a Disease ; that it rages epidemically or generally, affecting great Numbers of People at the same time ; and that it carries off greater Numbers than ordinarily. So that it differs from an epidemick Disease, but in degree of Violence only ; and consequently any epidemick Sicknefs, that rages with more than ordinary Violence, and which occasions

an extraordinary Morrality amongst Mankind, may be and is properly termed a Pestilence, or the Plague.



## CHAP. II.

### *Of the supposed Causes of the Plague.*

#### SECT. I.

**I**F the Plague be brought upon Mankind by the immediate miraculous Power of God, without the Intervention of second Causes, as some have imagin'd; then we may be assured that it is not to be kept off by Lines, Barriers, and Quarantanes: But as it is not the Business of the present Design to enquire into Miracles, I shall wave saying any thing to that Opinion; and proceed to examine and consider, what has been advanced by those who suppose it to have its rise from natural Causes.

THE grand Principle which runs thro most of the late Treatises upon this Subject, and on which they seem principally to be founded, is, that the Plague is communicated from diseased Persons. This naturally leads People to have recourse to Lines, Barriers, and Quarantanes, and depend upon these for Security: But if it be not communicated from diseased Persons (and the following Arguments will prove

prove, it is not.) then Lines, &c. can be of no use, and the People have been induced from this Notion to depend upon a false Security.

HAVING looked into the Authors who have espoused this Notion, I find that it has not been their Method to deal mightily in Arguments; but however, in what they have said, that they have taken very much one after another; so that it may be sufficient to consider one of their Performances only, with which the rest must either stand or fall.

THAT which I have pitched upon for this Purpose, is a Discourse by Dr. R. Mead, published last Winter: I was induced to this Choice, because as it is one of the last written, it may be supposed to contain the Sum of what has been said in the rest; because of the great Name of the Author, whose Opinion therefore must needs carry with it great Weight and Authority; because it was written, as the Doctor says in his Dedication, by the Command of the then Secretary of State; and because, as it should seem, the late Act for enforcing Quarantane, &c. was in great measure founded upon it. On all these Accounts it might claim an especial Regard.

IN the second Page of this Discourse, the Doctor assigns three Causes of the Pestilence; the Air, diseased Persons, and Goods transported from infected Places. The first of these is supported in that and the next Page, and proved by several Facts and Authorities.

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But a little farther all this is forgotten, and the Doctor contradicts what himself before had been proving: for in p. 14. he says, ' On the other hand it is evident that Infection is not received from the Air itself, however predisposed, without the Concurrence of something emitted from infected Persons.' So that altho before the Air had been assigned as one distinct Cause of the Plague, in these last cited Words, the contrary is expressly asserted.

BUT let it be seen how well the Doctor makes good his last Assertion: The Argument made use of to prove it, is, ' Because by strictly preventing all Intercourse of infected Places with the Neighbourhood, it may be effectually kept from spreading; whereas the least Wind must necessarily convey whatever noxious Quality resides in the Air alone, even to a great Distance. Of this we have had a fresh Proof in the present unhappy Plague in *France*, which by keeping careful Guard, was confined for a considerable Time within the Walls of *Marseilles*, so that none of the adjacent Villages suffered any thing by it; till at length some Persons finding means to escape, carried the Infection along with them: And we find they have been able by the like Care, still to restrain it within moderate Bounds.'

IT may be observed, That this Argument, if it proves any thing, proves more than the Doctor seems to make it prove; for if the  
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Plague can be kept from spreading by the means aforesaid, it follows, that Infection is not received from the Air without, nor yet even with the Concurrence of something emitted, that is, not from the Air at all.

IN the next place, as this Argument depends entirely upon Facts, it necessarily ceases to be an Argument, if these should be found to fail; for how does it appear, that Infection is not received from the Air, without the Concurrence of something emitted? Because, says the Doctor, by preventing all Intercourse it may be effectually kept from spreading. Very good; but this must be proved true in Fact, or it can stand for nothing. Why, to prove it then, the Doctor alledges the present unhappy Plague in *France*, and brings no other Instance besides. But methinks he should have brought an Instance, if any such could have been found, where the Plague had actually been kept from spreading; for tho even such an Instance would not have afforded sufficient Proof, yet there might have been some Pretence for urging it. But as the Case now stands, an Instance where by keeping the strictest Guard, the Plague could not be kept from spreading, is the only one made use of to prove, that by keeping strict Guard, it may be kept from spreading.

PERHAPS the Doctor might think it enough to have said, That it was confined for a considerable time within the Walls of *Marseilles*, till at length some Persons finding Means

Means to escape, carried the Infection along with them. But let it be supposed, that the Plague had not reached the adjacent Villages, until some Persons had found means to escape: How does it thence appear that it had been confined within and by those Walls? For since Plagues do not always spread themselves with the same Rapidity, but sometimes quicker, and sometimes more slowly; since the Time for its extending itself to any given Distance cannot be determined or known; altho it had not reached the adjacent Villages before those Persons had escaped, it might have done it notwithstanding some time afterwards. Therefore some Reasons or Arguments were farther necessary to have proved, or made it probable at least, that it was extended to the adjacent Villages by means of the Persons escaping, rather than by the natural Course and Progress of the Sicknefs.

AGAIN, if it be supposed, that the Plague had never spread itself without the Walls of *Marseilles*, or beyond the first or second Line made to stop it; it would not necessarily have followed that it had been stopped or confined by those Walls, or by those Lines: for since Plagues do not always spread themselves over the same determinate Compass of Country, and since it cannot be known where, or at what Place, their Progress must cease; it might not have spread it self farther, altho there had been no Walls, or no Lines. Thus, even supposing that the Plague had remain'd  
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for some time within the Walls of *Marseilles* only; yet it does not appear by any thing the Doctor has said, that it was kept in or confined by means of those Walls.

BUT that the Plague did remain within the Walls of *Marseilles*, till some Persons finding means to escape, carried the Infection along with them; we have the Doctor's bare Word only, without any Proof or Evidence: This indeed hitherto has seem'd universally satisfactory. But when I consider the destructive Consequences of what is here advanced, how pernicious and ruinous to the Trade, which is the Wealth and the Strength of this Nation, together with the many other Evils which must inevitably follow; 'tis amazing to me, that a mere Say-so, enforced with no Evidence, and which, if it had been, could have made very little for the Purpose intended, should yet be received, and pass amongst Mankind as sufficient Grounds whereon to establish a Notion, which, if pursued into Practice, and persever'd in, must bring upon this City and Kingdom more and greater Mischiefs than the late *South-Sea* Project and Management.

It might well have been expected, that a Fact, whereon such a Notion was to be founded, and whereon so much depended, should have been supported and proved by the fullest and the clearest Evidence, even so that there might not have remained any the least room to doubt of the Certainty of it: And accordingly,

dingly he should have proved by undeniable Evidences,

THAT not any one single Person had been sick of the Plague in any of the adjacent Villages, or without the Walls of *Marseilles*, till some Persons finding means to escape, carried the Infection along with them.

THAT some Persons, finding means to escape, did go to the adjacent Villages, or any of them, and were received into them.

THAT the Persons escaping, and received into the adjacent Villages, were diseased Persons.

AND that the Plague was carried in like manner into all the Villages, Towns, and Cities that were afterwards visited with it.

UNLESS all and every of these Particulars can be clearly proved, what the Doctor has here said must by no means be allowed to be Fact; but instead of that, these very Particulars may be so turned upon him as not only to destroy his Fact, but to overthrow his Argument and his Notion too. For instance, Why should not the Walls of *Thoulon* be as well able to keep the Plague out, as the Walls of *Marseilles* were to keep it in? We have no Account that any body escaping from *Marseilles*, either forced, or attempted to force, their Way into *Thoulon*; and indeed as it is not a large, tho a very strong Fortification, and well guarded, it is very unlikely that any body escaping should attempt to get into it; or if they had attempted it, it is next

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kin to an Impossibility that they should not have perished in the Attempt. If then the Walls of *Thoulon* could not keep out the Plague, and no reason can be assigned for it, consistent with the Doctor's Scheme, it may be concluded, that neither could the Walls of *Marseilles* confine it within themselves.

AGAIN, the Accounts from thence informed us, that for a long time the Distemper seized with so much Violence as to kill without exception in twenty four Hours, or at the most in two or three Days time. Now if it can be conceived, that any body labouring under so violent and desperate a Disease, could have it in their Will or Inclination to attempt escaping; it can hardly be thought possible, that they could have Strength or Ability to attempt it, much less to escape: and yet if the Persons escaping were not diseased, nothing can be thence inferred in favour of what the Doctor has affirmed, unless Infection can be received from sound Persons, as well as from those that are sick. If it be said, that altho they were not, or had not, been infected themselves, the Infection might nevertheless have been brought with them in their Clothes: I answer, that if the Atoms harboured in a Man's Clothes are not capable or sufficient to infect that Man whose Body they touched, and that perhaps constantly, and for many Days together; it is highly improbable, if not utterly impossible, that they should infect any other, much less many others, in a



short space of Time, and at a Distance too. And if it be consider'd, that these, like other Atoms, may be forced off from any thing they adhere to, by the Air and by Heat, the foregoing Supposition must be still more absurd: for as these Atoms are supposed by the Propagators of this Notion, to be very volatile, they would soon fly off, in a manner, of themselves; or the Air, and its Motion, and the Wind would soon force them off. If to these be added, the Heat of the Body, augmented by the Exercise of hasty Flight and Travelling, and also the Heat and attractive Force of the Sun; it must needs be utterly impossible that any Atoms capable of flying, or of being forced off, should remain any time in the Clothes.

FARTHER, as it was Death to go out of *Marseilles*, if the Persons so escaping should be taken, or should come within reach of Gunshot; it is not likely they should go to the adjacent Villages, where they could not fail of being suspected, and being made to suffer Death: it is much more likely that they should avoid the neighbouring and all other Villages and Towns, till such time as they should be gotten out of danger of being apprehended, or indeed of being suspected.

AND lastly, after the strictest Enquiry I have been able to make, I can meet with nothing, with no Appearance of anything, that can warrant or even excuse the Doctor in affirming that the Infection was carried out of

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*Marseilles* by Persons escaping; for altho the Accounts do inform us of some Persons who did escape, yet it was not till near two Months after the Infection was got into the Neighbourhood of *Marseilles*, and not till it had passed the first and the second Line, and the River *Durance*. The Story is related in an Article from *Paris*, dated Oct. 19th, N. S.

They write from *Savoy*, that about eighteen Gally-Slaves being got out of *Marseilles*, and having found means to pass the Bridge of *Beauroisin*, forced their Passage into the Mountains of *Savoy*, which were guarded by the Militia of the Country; and tho the King of *Sardinia* has order'd them to be destroyed, 'tis not believed they will be able to come at them, by reason of the inaccessible Places to which they are retired.

This Relation not only confirms the Observations I have made before, as to the Persons escaping not being diseased, and as to their avoiding Towns and Villages, till out of reach; but also since we have no Account before this of any Persons escaping, and since this happened, as appears by the publick Accounts, six or seven Weeks after the Plague had reached the Neighbourhood of *Marseilles*, it must entirely overthrow what the Doctor has affirmed as Fact, That the Plague was confined within the Walls of *Marseilles*, till some Persons escaping, carried it along with them.

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THE first mention we had in our publick Accounts of the Plague's being at *Marfeilles*, was in an Article from *Paris* dated *August* the 10th N. S. In this Article it is said to have seized one Quarter of the Town only, which was thereupon ordered to be shut up. Some time after, in an Article from *Paris* dated *August* the 21st N. S. I find the following Passage; 'Tho' the Contagion is entirely ceased at *Marfeilles*, yet abundance of the meener sort die there; and in that Neighbourhood.' From the manner of expressing this Passage, one might reasonably imagine, that the Plague had been for some time in the Neighbourhood of *Marfeilles*; and yet there are no more than eleven Days between the Dates of these two Accounts. But suppose it be granted, that it had taken up six or seven Days in spreading it self, from one Quarter of the Town into all the Quarters of the Town, and from thence without the Walls into the Neighbourhood of the Town; even upon this Supposition, there could be no time for its being confined; it may rather be said to have spread it self with a great deal of Rapidity, with much more for certain than a Communication by Persons only is capable of. If it be objected, that it is here said, the Contagion is entirely ceased; and that therefore what the People died of at that time was not the Plague; it may be answered, that the People of *Marfeilles* seemed exceedingly desirous to have it thought, either that the Sick-

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ness they had there was not the Plague, or at least if it had been so, that it was ceased; and accordingly every now and then they sent abroad such like Accounts; whereas in reality, and as it has appeared since, the Plague was so far from being entirely ceased at that time, that it was actually encreasing, and continued encreasing a long time after, before it arrived at its full Height.

FROM what has been said, it appears that the Sickness was in the Neighbourhood of *Marseilles* long before any Persons found means to escape, and indeed almost, if not quite, as soon as it was in *Marseilles*.

THAT if any had escaped, or did escape, they could not be diseased Persons, and could not consequently have carried the Sickness along with them.

THAT so far from going to the adjacent Villages, where they could not and would not have been received, but must inevitably have suffered Death; those, who had escaped, would no doubt have avoided, and those who did escape, did actually avoid not only the adjacent, but all other Villages and Towns, till they had gotten far out of the Country.

AND lastly, That the Plague was not carried by Persons into all the Towns that were afterwards visited with it.

So that what the Doctor would have had passed for Fact, proves to be no Fact, and his Argument built upon it, having no Foundation must fall.

BUT

But if the Facts had not failed, nor the Supports been utterly wanting; I might nevertheless from Dr. Mead's own Discourse, have quite overthrown this Argument, for he says himself, \* But when in an evil Disposition of this [*the Air*], they [*Atoms emitted from diseased Persons*] meet with the subtle Parts, its Corruption has generated by uniting with them, they become much more active and powerful, and likewise more durable and lasting, so as to form an infectious Matter capable of conveying the Mischief to a great Distance from the diseased Body, out of which it was produced? If this be the Case, then it is impossible that either Walls or Lines can stop the Plague, or prevent its spreading. And thus the only Argument, the Doctor has used, is refuted by himself.

No other Argument having been made use of but that which I have been considering, and that having been found without Foundation, and consequently ceasing to be an Argument; the Notion that Infection is not received from the Air without the Concurrence of something emitted from diseased Persons, remains a bare Assertion only, which too I shall bring Dr. Mead himself to prove false.

THE Doctor having declared the Air to be one distinct Cause of the Pestilence, accordingly goes on to prove it; which being

much the best part of his Performance, I shall give it at large in his own Words. \* We shall therefore first enquire what Alteration of the Air it is, that makes it infectious; and then, by what Means it communicates its noxious Quality to other Bodies.

THE antientest and best Authors of Physick, who lived in a Country more exposed to these Calamities than ours, observed the Constitution of the Air, which preceded Pestilential Fevers, to be great Heats attended with much Rain and Southerly Winds†: And one of them takes particular Notice, that no other than a moist and hot Temperament of the Air brings the Plague; and that the Duration of this Constitution is the Measure of the Violence of the Distemper‖.

THE Natural History of several Countries confirms this Observation; in *Africa* particularly, if Showers fall during the sultry Heats of *July* and *August*, the Plague ensues thereupon, with which whosoever is infected hardly escapes\*\*.

IT has besides been remarked in all Times, that the Stinks of stagnating Waters in hot Weather, putrid Exhalations from the Earth; and above all, the Corrup-

\* Mead's *Discourse*, p. 2, 3.

† Vid. Hippocrat. *Epidem.* lib. 3.

‖ Galen. de *Temperament.* lib. 1. cap. 4. & *Comment.* in *Epid.* l. 3.

\*\* Vide J. Leon. *Histor. Afric.* lib. 1.



\* tion of dead Carcasses lying unburied, have occasioned infectious Diseases.

THUS the Doctor has shewed a great many ways by which the Air may be rendered noxious, and occasion infectious Diseases without the Concurrence of something emitted from diseased Persons; and in this too he stands supported by the greatest Authorities: Here then we see Dr. Mead opposed to Dr. Mead, proving in one Place something expressly contradictory to what he has asserted in another; but as in one place he is backed by Proof and Authorities, and in the other has neither Proof nor Authority on his side; since one must necessarily be false, the bare Assertion must certainly give way to that which he has proved.

To Dr Mead's own Proofs against his own Argument, and against his own Assertion, I shall add one other to conclude the Matter. The Infection which Goods are supposed to convey, must be either this something emitted, or it must come from the Air; if the latter, it is obvious at first view, that the direct contrary to what Dr. Mead has asserted is true, and Infection is received from the Air without the Concurrence of something emitted: but if it be said that the Infection which Goods receive and convey, is this something emitted from diseased Persons, still it may be argued, that there must have been a time when the Plague had not been in the World, and consequently that the Persons or Goods that

that were first infected, must have received it from the Air without the Concurrence of any thing emitted from diseased Persons: Either way Dr. Mead's Assertion must be entirely false.

UPON the whole, it may be concluded, notwithstanding any thing the Doctor hath said to the contrary, that Infection may be, and is, received from the Air without the Concurrence of something emitted from diseased Persons.

## S E C T. II.

*That the Plague is neither caused nor propagated by means of diseased Persons without the help of the Air.*

THE second Cause assigned by the Doctor, is, diseased Persons. Any body would think in reading his Discourse, that when he says, 'Contagion is propagated by three Causes; the Air, diseased Persons, and Goods transported from infected Places;' he intended to assign three distinct Causes of it: and that each of these here mentioned was one distinct Cause. And one should rather imagine this to have been his Meaning, because he goes on to treat of them separately, one after another: And even does actually prove, that the Air may become infectious, and be the Occasion of infectious Diseases without the concurrence of either of the o-

ther two. And yet there are some Passages of his Discourse, that are utterly inconsistent with this Meaning : for besides what has been taken notice of already, on another occasion he says, ' A corrupted State of Air is without doubt necessary to give these contagious Atoms their full Force.' This is very plain and express, ' A corrupted State of Air is necessary to give the Atoms their full Force ;' consequently diseased Persons, or Atoms emitted from them, cannot possibly of themselves be the Cause, or one distinct Cause of the Pestilence.

THE Doctor is no less inconsistent and contradictory as to the manner of propagating and communicating the infectious Matter ; for in a Passage already quoted, it is said, \* that it may be conveyed to a great Distance ; and yet in another Place he expressly asserts the contrary : his words are † ; ' And lastly, that the Air cannot diffuse and spread these [Atoms emitted] to any great Distance, if Intercourse and Commerce with the Place infected be strictly prevented.

AND indeed, this celebrated Piece so plentifully abounds with Inconsistencies, Contradictions, and Absurdities, that it is not easy any where to know in what sense to understand the Doctor's Meaning : but from hence perhaps there may be taken a Criterion or Rule of judging, which may not only be of

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\* Mead's Discourse, p. 13. † P. 19.



use, and applicable as to the Performance now under Consideration, but likewise in all other Writings and Discourses: for since we see that Men in great Repute for Sense and Learning do yet run into frequent Inconsistencies and Contradictions; whence can this proceed, if it be not that either they have set out upon erroneous Principles, or have engaged in a Cause without Principle or Foundation?

HOWEVER, since I cannot reconcile the Doctor to himself, either as to the Causes of the Pestilence, or the Manner of its being propagated; I will consider the received Notion that the Plague is communicated from sick Persons, in every way that can be thought of: by which Means I doubt not it will be manifest, that which way soever it be taken, it cannot possibly be maintained by the Doctor or by any body else.

THE second Part of this Discourse proceeds upon a Supposition that the Plague may be kept off, and be stop'd by Lines, Barriers, and Quarantanes, which cannot be done if the Cause be diffused in or by the Air; therefore according to this Scheme, it can only be caused and propagated from one Person to another immediately, without the concurrence or help of the Air. But this cannot be true for the following Reasons.

1. BECAUSE none then could be infected, but such as had been near to some diseased Person; whereas many Instances may be had from *France*, as well as from Authors, of Peoples

ples having been infected, tho they had not been near any diseased Person.

2. THE Plague is very sudden and rapid in its Progress, spreading it self over a great Compass in a short space of time: According to our Accounts from *France*, if it came thither, as it is said, by Goods, the Plague was spread throughout the whole Town of *Marseilles*, and from thence into the Villages adjacent in six or seven Days time at the most, and perhaps in a great deal less: this appears by the two Articles from *Paris* mentioned before. Now if the Plague does affect none but such as shall have been near some diseased Person, (and if it does affect any besides, my first Argument is valid) since every one carefully avoids going near the Sick, it could not have been spread so far in so short a space of time, by being communicated from Person to Person only, without the help of the Air.

3. IF the Matter of the Plague be not transmitted or diffused by the Air, it might at any time be effectually kept from spreading by shutting up Houses, and strictly preventing all Intercourse of infected Places with the Neighbourhood; but repeated Experience shews that all Methods of this sort are utterly ineffectual: Experience had made this so evident, that \* *Dr. Mead* himself was obliged to own it, tho it contradicts and destroys the grand End and Design of his Performance:

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\* *Mead's Discourse*, p. 34.

Nothing,

Nothing, says he, can justify such Cruel-  
 ry, [*the shutting up of Houses*], but the Plea  
 that it is for the Good of the whole Com-  
 munity, and prevents the spreading of  
 Infection. But this, upon due Considera-  
 tion, will be found quite otherwise; for while  
 Contagion is kept nursed up in a House, and  
 continually encreased by the daily Con-  
 quests it makes, it is impossible but the Air  
 should by degrees become tainted, which  
 by opening Windows, &c. will carry the  
 Malignity first from House to House, and  
 then from one Street to another. The  
 shutting up Houses in this manner, is only  
 keeping so many Seminaries of Contagion  
 sooner or later to be dispersed abroad. If  
 shutting up Houses cannot stop the Plague and  
 prevent its spreading; then for certain the  
 Walls of Towns, or Lines and Trenches, can-  
 not be conceived capable of doing it: for as  
 to these, it may be said, that the Windows are  
 always wide open to let the Infection pass  
 out of them to the Places adjacent: And thus  
 the Doctor has knocked down his own handy  
 Work at once. He goes on to pronounce  
 that these Measures were owing to the Igno-  
 rance of the true Nature of Contagion; but  
 let the Nature or Cause of the Plague be  
 what it will, if it can be stopped by artificial  
 Obstacles or Impediments, such as Walls,  
 Lines, or Barriers, I defy the Doctor, or any  
 one for him, to find out a better or more effec-  
 tual way of doing it, than by shutting up  
 Houses:



Houses : And yet he says himself that this will not do ; for it will get out of the Windows, or some how or other, and it will pass from House to House, and from Street to Street, let us shut up, or do what we will to the contrary. But how can this be, if the Air be not supposed to diffuse and convey it ? And if the Air does diffuse and convey it, then shutting up Houses, Towns, or Provinces can avail nothing ; and then the Doctor must give up his Notion, that it may be stopped by such like Methods, or he must persist in affirming, that it may be kept from spreading by strictly preventing all Intercourse, tho manifold Experience shews, and himself has been forced to own, that it cannot.

4. THAT the Plague is not produced or propagated by means of a Communication of Atoms from one Person to another, without the Concurrence and Help of the Air, may be shewn from a Passage in the Doctor's Discourse ; where he says \*, ' A corrupted State of Air is without doubt necessary to give these contagious Atoms their full Force.' In order to come at the Meaning of these Words, it may not be improper to look back to the Page before †, where it is said, ' But when in an evil Disposition of This [*the Air*] they meet with the subtle Parts its Corruption has generated, by uniting with them they become much more active and powerful, and like-

\* Mead's Discourse, p. 13.

† Page 12.

' wise more durable and lasting, so as to form  
 ' an *infectious Matter* capable of conveying  
 ' the Mischief to a great Distance from the  
 ' diseased Body, out of which it was pro-  
 ' duced.' The evil Disposition of Air here  
 mentioned must be a corrupted State of Air,  
 because in the next Line its Corruption is spo-  
 ken of. From these Words therefore, explain-  
 ing the Passage first quoted, we may conclude  
 the Meaning of it to be, that the Plague has  
 not its full Force from these Atoms only, but  
 from the Atoms and a corrupted State of  
 Air, meeting, uniting, and operating toge-  
 ther; by which means the Mischief may be  
 conveyed to a great distance: But hence it is  
 obvious at first sight, that the Cause of the  
 Plague is diffused and transmitted by the Air.  
 If it be said, that a corrupted State of Air is  
 necessary, only as a Medium, to transmit the  
 Atoms in their full Force, and not to give  
 them any new Force; tho' this could not be  
 the Doctor's Meaning, yet even this Sense  
 will serve the turn no better than the former:  
 for if a corrupted State of Air be necessary to  
 transmit the Atoms, whenever such a State of  
 Air is wanting, they will not be transmitted;  
 and if they be not, there can be no Plague.  
 This Consequence necessarily flows from the  
 Passage quoted, and yet that Passage cannot  
 be parted with: for as nothing else is brought  
 to obviate an Objection, which otherwise  
 shews how absurd it is to imagine, that the  
 Plague is communicated by Persons; if this

Passage be parted with, the Objection remains in full force. Therefore if this Passage be kept to obviate the Objection, it follows, that the Plague is neither produced nor propagated without the Help of the Air to transmit and convey the Atoms : And if this Passage be given up, it follows, that Infection is not communicated from sick Persons at all.

THUS it is evident, that the Matter or Cause of the Plague, whatever it be, must necessarily be received into, and be conveyed by the Air ; and that therefore Walls or Lines cannot possibly stop or confine it.

WE may still be more fully convinced of these Truths from Fact, and from the dreadful Experience of our Neighbours in *France* : for tho the Methods of Prevention by cutting off all Intercourse, have been enforced and executed there with the utmost Strictness and Severity ; yet what Fruits, what good Effects can they boast ? On the contrary, the Plague has prevailed mightily, and pass'd on triumphant over Walls, Lines, and Barriers ; and, notwithstanding these cruel Methods, has ranged far and wide uncontrouled.



S E C T.



## S E C T. III.

*That the Plague is not to be conveyed from one Country to another by Persons.*

**H**AVING shewn that the Cause or Matter of the Plague, whatever it be, is moved in and by the Air; and therefore that Walls or Lines are not the proper Means to keep it off, or to repel its Force: what I shall next undertake, is to demonstrate that it cannot be conveyed by Persons from one Country to another.

1. IT is not conceivable it can be done by Land, because Persons sick of the Plague can neither have Disposition nor Ability to travel by Land; and if they should, as Plague Sicknesses are exceeding violent, and commonly end in Health or Death within a few Days, they would be either dead or well before they could have travel'd far.

2. AND tho the Sick may travel with more convenience and ease by Sea, yet they will be either recovered or dead in a few Days time; and I believe no Instance can be produced, that the Sickneſs continued in any Ship after a Fortnight's Voyage: but if it does not continue in the Ship, and none of the Ship's Crew have it when they arrive, they cannot possibly infect others with it. As to its being harboured in their Clothes, I have consider'd and answered it before; but

some Circumstances which a Ship-Passage furnishes, may serve farther to expose the Absurdity of that Supposition; for if the Ship's Crew consists of twenty Men, these all must be confined within a narrow Compals, to eat, drink, sleep, and work, for many days together, and every one of these must have infected Clothes. If then each Man's Clothes, with those of all the other nineteen, operating together, under the foregoing Circumstances, have not force enough to infect a single Man of them; how absurd is it to think that any one of these can infect others, who shall stand near him but for a short space of time only? Some other Circumstances might be urged, but the Absurdity surely must be so evident, as not to need it.

3. BUT in case any of the Ship's Crew should be seized before its Departure from the Place infected; yet after its Departure, even according to what the Doctor says, the Sickness can go no farther, unless we suppose the same corrupted State of Air to be continued all the way, as subsisted at the infected Place. Now it is not likely that a corrupted State of Air should continue many Miles, at least not the whole way of a long Voyage or Journey; especially if it be necessary, as it seems to me it should, that it be of the very same Nature with that, wherein the Plague had been produced.

SINCE it is by means of an Emendation of the Qualities of the Air that the Plague ceases,

ceases, it cannot be communicated in a Country where the Climate or Qualities of the Air are different from those, by the Concurrence of which the Plague had been produced: for suppose the concurring Quality or Qualities of Air had been an Excess of Heat, an Excess of Dryness, an Excess of Moisture, or any two of these, if the Excess be reduced, or an opposite Quality or opposite Qualities take place, the Qualities of Air are then amended; and wheresoever the first Qualities are amended, that is, are absent, the Plague cannot be communicated. In order to shew the force of this Argument, and render it more clear and obvious, I shall first observe upon what it is founded, and then go on to make the several Deductions in such wise, that their Connections may readily be seen. It is founded upon what is advanced by Dr. Mead to remove an Objection which stood in his way; his Words are \*: ' A corrupted State of Air is  
' without doubt necessary to give these contagious Atoms their full Force; for otherwise it were not easy to conceive how the  
' Plague, when once it had seized any Place, should ever cease, but with the Destruction  
' of all the Inhabitants: Which is readily accounted for by supposing an Emendation of  
' the Qualities of the Air, and the restoring  
' of it to a healthy State, capable of dissipating and suppressing the Malignity.

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\* Mead's Discourse, p. 13.



HERE it may be seen that to get clear of the Objection, the Doctor is obliged to affirm that a corrupted State of Air is necessary to give the Atoms emitted their full Force ; and then he supposes, when the Qualities which had render'd the Air bad, or which had given the Atoms their necessary Force, should be amended, the Plague will cease ; since therefore the Air must remain bad, as long as the Quality or Qualities, by the Concurrence of which the Plague had been produced, shall remain the same, it can only be said to be amended, when such Quality or Qualities shall be wanting or be absent : where-ever then, or in whatsoever Country, those Qualities shall be absent, the Atoms having lost their necessary Force, the Plague cannot be communicated. If then it should appear improbable that the Qualities of Air necessary to the production of the Plague in *Turkey*, should ever happen here in *England* ; it will follow, that tho in a Plague generated in *Turkey*, the Sickness may be communicated from one Person to another there, or in a Plague generated here, the same may be done here ; yet if a sick Person could be brought from *Turkey* (but which is not to be done) the Sickness could not be communicated from such sick Person to any one here. Now besides other bad Qualities of the Air, it has been generally observed, there goes before, or accompanies the Plague in those Countries, great and continued Heat, or Heat and Moisture together, such Heat for  
in-

instance as the Nature of our Climate cannot admit of; and therefore the Conclusion above must be true. This Consequence is necessary, and cannot be evaded, unless the Doctor gives up the Passage by which he hoped to escape the Force of the Objection; and if that Passage be parted with, the Objection will shew, that even in *Turkey* Infection is not communicated by Persons at all.

IN what I have said, I would not be understood to deny that pestilential Matter may, by the Motion of the Air, be carried along to Provinces or Countries distant from the Place where it first arose: but I am of Opinion that this can very seldom happen.

DR. MEAD has mentioned two Accounts of Plagues, with a View, I take it, of supporting his Notion that the Plague is conveyed by Persons from one Country to another. \* And the History, says he, of

‘ the most terrible of all the Plagues, that  
 ‘ ever were in these Parts of the World,  
 ‘ which was that in the Year 1349, gives a  
 ‘ manifest Proof from whence all *Europe* may  
 ‘ trace the Origin of these Evils, viz. from  
 ‘ *Asia*: for † this taking its Rise in *China* in  
 ‘ the Year 1346, advanced thro the *East-Indies*  
 ‘ to *Syria, Turkey, Egypt, Greece, Africa,*  
 ‘ &c. In 1347 some Ships from the  
 ‘ *Levant* carried it to *Sicily, Pisa, Genoa, &c.*  
 ‘ In 1348 it got into *Savoy, Provence, Dau-*

\* Mead's *Discourse*, p. 10.

† Vid. *Histor. Florent.* di Matteo Villani.

phiny, Catalonia, Castile, &c. In 1349 it seized England, Scotland, Ireland, and Flanders; and in the next place Germany, Hungary, and Denmark: and in all these Countries made most incredible Havock.\*

By this Account, the Plague, here spoken of, had spread it self thro China, the East-Indies, Syria, Turkey, Egypt, Greece, Africa, and some other Countries, as it were at once, in a twelve Months time or less. Now as these Countries are vastly distant and remote, and as there is not a continual current Commerce between them, it is monstrously absurd to imagine that the Plague could be spread thro so great a Part of the World in so short a space of time, not by means of the Air, but by a communication from Person to Person only; the Absurdity of this Supposition appears to me so glaring, that I have thought, after having made the foregoing Remark, I might excuse my self the trouble of looking into the History of that Plague, to seek for other Circumstances, wherewithal to expose the Folly of any Inference that may be made from the Instance above, in favour of the Notion, that Infection is propagated throughout the World by means of sick Persons, and not from the Air.

THE other Account mentioned, is that of the sweating Sickness. \* The sweating Sickness, called the *Sudor Anglicus* and Fe-

\* Mead's Discourse, p. 6, 7.



*bris Ephemera Britannica*, because it was commonly thought to have taken its Rise here, was probably of a foreign Original, and no other than a Plague abated in its Violence by the mild Temperament of our Climate.

FOR, we learn from Histories, that the first time this was felt here, which was in the Year 1485, it began in the Army, with which King *Henry VII.* came from *France*, and landed in *Wales* \*; and it was then thought to have been brought into *France* from the famous Siege of *Rhodes* by the *Turks* 3 or 4 Years before.

(It may be observed, that in the first of these Paragraphs, he tells us, it was commonly thought to have taken its Rise here; and in the next Paragraph, that it was then thought to have been brought into *France* from the Siege of *Rhodes*: so that the People in those Days may seem to have thought Contradictions as well as himself; for he expresses both Passages in the same general Terms, not that the first was thought by some, and the last by others.

UNLESS he has quoted *Dr. Keys* for that Purpose, he has not told us who the Persons were, who then thought it had been brought into *France* from *Rhodes*; nor by what Authority he affirms that it was then thought so. That he had no warrant from *Dr. Keys* for affirming it, may be seen from the follow-

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\* *Vld Caium de Febre Ephemera Britannica.*

ing Passages taken out of this Author's Treatise of the sweating Sickness \*. *His [nostris Britannis] enim morbus hic ut adventitius non est, ita novus non est. Siquidem ex historiis Britannicis intelligo, malum hoc ex Britannia ortum esse (quantum scire licet) in exercitu Henrici Regis Angliæ ejus nominis septimi, quem partim ex Gallia tum nuper secum adduxerat, partim in Wallia propter Milfordiam, quo classe appulit, conscripserat.* For as this Disease is not foreign, neither is it new to us Britans; forasmuch as we understand by the British Histories, that this Evil had its Rise in Britain (as much as any thing of this kind can be known) in the Army of King Henry VII. part of which he had a little before brought with him from France, and part of which he had list'd or muster'd in Wales near Milford, whither he was come with the Fleet. And in another Place †, *Sed de morbi genere utcunque sentias, illud optarem, hujus Ephemeræ non solum ortum (quod quidam conjiciunt, cujus rei tamen ad auctores relego, potius quam meam astringo) sed moram atque interitum etiam apud Græcos Trojano, aut Cantabros Cantabrico, aut Turcas Rhodiensi bello extitisse potius, quam ut tantis damnis atque incommodis, quibus solet molestus esse, nostros idem afficeret, atque originis suæ gloriam (quæ video quàm sit exigua) ad Anglos referret.* But as to the Genus or Kind of the Disease, howsoever your Opinion may be, I could wish

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\* Caius de Feb. Ephemer. Brit. new Edit. p. 19. † Ibid. 12.  
for

for my own part, not only that the Rise of this *Ephemeræ* or Fever of one day only (which some Persons conjecture, for the Credit of which, nevertheless I refer to the Authors, rather than plight my own Troth) but its Abode, and its End too, had been amongst the *Greeks* at the *Trojan*, amongst the *Cantabrians* in the *Cantabrick*, amongst the *Turks* in the *Rhodian War*, rather than ever it should have visited us with the train of Mischiefs and Inconveniences it is wont to bring along with it; and that the Glory of its Origin (a poor Business indeed!) should be ascribed to the *English*.

HERE we see it is declared, contrary to what *Dr. Mead* affirms, that this Disease was not foreign, or brought to us from abroad.

THAT it began in *Wales* near *Milford*, and not in *France*; and tho it first appeared in the Army, part of which was come from *France*, that yet it did not break out amongst them, till some time after they had been arrived in *Wales*.

AND as to its having been at *Rhodes*, it may be observed, that *Dr. Keys* is speaking of the Genus or the Kind of the Disease, when he says, that some Persons conjectured, it had raged at three several Places before it appeared in *England*. But because it had been supposed by some Persons, that the Disease which raged among the *Greeks* before *Troy*, amongst the *Contabrians* in *Spain*, or amongst the *Turks* at *Rhodes*, was of the same nature or kind with



our sweating Sickness; it does not follow, that it ever enter'd into their Thoughts, that it was brought from the Siege of *Rhodes* (which happened five Years before) to *France*, and from *France* to us in *England*. Neither can there be any more Reason for supposing, from what *Dr. Key* has said, that any Persons had ever thought, it was brought to us from *Rhodes*, than that they had likewise thought it had been carried from *Spain* to *Rhodes*, or from *Troy* to *Spain*. Besides, that it was never brought to or from *France*, is evidently because this Plague never raged in *France*, neither could the *French* People ever be infected with it any where else.

#### SECT. IV.

*That the Plague is not propagated by means of Goods.*

**G**OODS transported from infected Places, is the Doctor's third Cause of the Pestilence; but he has no where clearly or expressly declared what it is that Goods receive and convey, whether it be the Poison suppoed by him to be generated in the *Eastern* and *Southern* Parts, or whether it be the something emitted: however, be it which or what it will, the following Arguments will evince, that the Plague cannot be conveyed in Goods from one Country to another.

I. FOR

2<sup>d</sup>. For as our Trade with *Turkey* has very much encreased since the Year 1665, we ought to have had more frequent Returns of the Plague since that time than before; whereas on the contrary, we were very frequently visited with it before that time, five or six times in 74 Years, and have been perfectly free from it ever since, which is above 56 Years: Whence it appears that Goods are wholly innocent of what is laid to their charge, and that we ought to look for the Cause of the Plague elsewhere.

3<sup>d</sup>. If Goods are so susceptible and retentive of Infection, as this Notion supposes, then such Persons as first unpack and open Goods brought from infected Places, would very often have been infected thereby: for if any can receive Infection from Goods, it must be such as first open them. But I am apt to think the Doctor cannot bring an Instance that any Person has been infected by that means.

4<sup>th</sup>. If Goods receive Infection, they must have it from or by means of the Air; unless it be supposed, that Goods are kept in the Bed-chambers of the Sick. If it be admitted, that Infection is convey'd into them by means of the Air, then Walls, Lines, and Quarantines must be useless; and yet except this be admitted, it is not likely that Goods should receive any Infection, and consequently they could bring none with them. If it be said that Goods may be packed up by diseased Per-

Persons; this is very improbable, because as packing of Goods is a laborious Work, which requires a great deal of Strength, it cannot be supposed, that Persons sick of the Plague can have Strength enough for such hard labour.

4. IF the Plague was always produced by one and the same specifick Poison generated in the Southern and Eastern Parts of the World, and brought into *Europe* by Commerce, it would affect the People of all Nations indifferently alike; but there are frequent Instances of the contrary. The *Europeans* sometimes have not been infected in *Turkey*, when the Plague has raged there among the Natives. No Foreigners whatever were seized with our Sweating Sickness, and the *German* Sweating Sicknels did not hurt the *English*. Nay, Dr. Mead says himself, that all Plagues do not indifferently affect all kinds of living Creatures. Whence it may be inferred, that the Cause of the Plague is not any one thing carried up and down the World in Ships or Waggon, but rather that it must be a Native of the Country where it rages.

5. IF the Matter of the Disease was a specifick Poison bred in the Eastern or Southern Parts of the World, and thence convey'd into other Countries by Commerce; as the Cause would be always the same, the Effects would be so too; and all Plagues, especially such as should happen in the same Country or Climate, would have much the same Symptoms:



toms: whereas, on the contrary, Plagues happening at different Times, tho in the same Country, have been observed to vary very much in their Symptoms, and to be extremely different one from another. To mention no other Instances, the Sweating Sickness here in *England* was as different from the last Plague we had in 1665, as any two Distempers can well be: Whence it may be taken for granted, that the Plague does not always arise from one and the same Cause.

6. IF the Cause of the Disease was a specifick Poison, convey'd into all Parts by Commerce; the same Methods would at all times be found useful in rebating the Fury and Violence of the Plague: and the Cause and Nature of the Disease being always the same, the same Medicines which had once been helpful, would be helpful at all times. But Experience shews the contrary; for some Authors have greatly extolled the Benefits that have been received or derived from the Use of Fires: whereas in the last Plague we had here, they were found extremely pernicious and deadly; and the same Medicines or Methods of Practice have met with contrary Success in different Plagues: Wherefore we may be assured that the Plague is not caused by any one specifick Poison generated in *Turkey*, and brought hither by Commerce.

7. THE same bad Qualities of Air as are necessary to put the Seeds of Contagion into Action in their native Climate, must undoubtedly

edly be necessary in any other Climate, which is not natural to them; but the same bad Qualities of Air, if we may judge from the Nature of things, are never like to happen in *England*; and therefore if we can suppose that the Seeds of their Contagion may be packed up with Goods, yet for want of the necessary Qualities of Air, they can never produce any pestilential Disease amongst us.

8. *HODGES*, *Bellini*, and others, have taken notice of certain Signs that are wont to precede the breaking out of the Plague; and *Hodges* even says, that from them its Degrees of Severity may be foretold. His Words are: From certain and undoubted Signs, for some time foregoing the manifest Eruption of the Plague, may its degrees of Severity be prognosticated. Among these Signs are reckoned intemperate and unnatural Seasons, Storms, Earthquakes, Swarms of Insects, Mortalities among the Cattle, and Epidemick Diseases amongst Men, attended with a greater Degree of Malignancy than usual. Now as these either must proceed from the predominating bad Qualities of the Air, or must be the occasion of such bad Qualities; we may judge from them of the evil Disposition and Tendency of the Air: but they cannot possibly be supposed to pre-signify that a Ship is coming from *Turkey* with a Bale of infected Cotton on board.

9. THE Accounts inform us, that from *January* last Ships have been continually arriving

rising at *Smirna*, which were come from  
*Marseilles*; that the Crews and Passengers  
 went immediately on Shore, and enter'd the  
 City without any notice being taken to them  
 of performing Quarantine; that Goods have  
 been continually carried ashore in like man-  
 ner, without performing Quarantine, and  
 without being opened or aired; even such  
 Goods as had been before transported from  
*Turkey*, and which are supposed the most  
 susceptible of Infection. Now if the Notion  
 of conveying the Plague from one Country  
 to another by Commerce had any Truth in  
 it, the Seeds of Contagion having been car-  
 ried in such great abundance into their (pre-  
 tended) original and natural Climate, they  
 must necessarily have produced their baleful  
 Effects in that Country before this time: but  
 on the contrary, they write from thence,  
 they never enjoyed a better State of Health.  
 Thus it is seen, that Plagues will break out,  
 in spite of Quarantines; and that they will  
 not be carried from Place to Place.

It may be expected I should here take  
 notice of a Fact or two inserted in the Dis-  
 course I have been considering: One \* of  
 which is said to be given by *Dr. Halley*. I  
 conceived this Gentleman would be very rea-  
 dy to give the Publick any farther Satisfac-  
 tion that should be desired in relation to it;  
 and accordingly I wrote to him, desiring an

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\* Mead's *Discourse*, p. 27.



Answer to certain Queries, but I have not yet heard from him: wherefore I think it may be concluded, that he finds himself unable to answer them: however, I shall annex the Letter and the Queries to this Discourse; and whenever Dr. Halley shall think fit to do it, I doubt not but I shall be able to shew that the Story can make nothing in favour of the Notion that the Plague is imported by Commerce.

THE \* other is an Account from *Boccacio* of two Hogs which died within an Hour after they had torn with their Teeth, &c. some Rags which came from a Man dead of the Sickness. I have not looked into that Author, because this Fact, as it is here related, can be of no Service to the Doctor; for since some Plagues do affect the Brute Kind, as well as Men, it is very probable these Hogs had before received the Disease from the Air, and by their snuffling and tearing the Rags in the manner here represented, it should seem that they were in Convulsions at the time they did it. But if this were not the Case, since it may be supposed that these Rags had been used about some Plague Sores, all that can be inferred from it, is, that if the Matter of the Disease be taken into the Mouth and chewed, it will produce the Sickness. This I don't deny, no more than that the Small Pox may be produced by Inoculation. But hence it does

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\* Mead's *Discourse*, p. 24.

not follow that Infection is transmitted to Persons standing near the Sick, or received by touching and assisting them.

It is therefore the foregoing Arguments have made it evident, as I think they have, that the Plague is not convey'd from Place to Place by Commerce; then Quarantanes can serve to no other purpose but to ruin our Trade and Traders.

### S E C T. V.

*That Quarantanes are not sufficient for the Purposes intended.*

**I**F it were to be admitted, that Infection is to be brought in Goods, it may deserve Consideration notwithstanding, whether Quarantanes are sufficient, or at all useful, for the securing us from it; or whether they are the best Means that can be used. The enforcing Quarantanes must needs be a very great Injury to a trading Nation; and it is not to be imagined, that any People would voluntarily injure themselves, unless it be with a view of securing or obtaining some valuable Good. Wherefore it may be proper to shew that People are mistaken with respect to Quarantanes; that they are not a sufficient Means to secure us from any Infection that may be supposed to be brought in Goods; and that they are not the best Means that can be used, but on the other hand, are the most

likely Means of occasioning what is proposed to be prevented by them.

1. FOR Dr. Mead tells us \*, † There are Instances of the Distemper's being stopt by the Winter's Cold, and yet the Seeds of it not destroyed, but only kept unactive; and he apprehends great Danger from the importing Goods †, which may thus have retained the latent Contagion. Now if it be likely, that in Winter the Contagion may not be taken out of Goods, but that Goods may still retain it, tho' unactive, till the Warmth of the Spring shall give it new Life and Force; then Quarantanes in Winter will be a very precarious and uncertain Means, if they are not altogether useless.

2. IF the Persons, who first unpack the Goods coming from infected Places in the Lazarettoes abroad, are never injured thereby; and I cannot hear of any Instance that they ever have; it may be inferred either that Goods do never receive the Infection, or that they do not retain it: and consequently that by enforcing Quarantanes we are doing our selves a real Injury, in order to secure our selves from that which is not.

3. THE enforcing Quarantanes will certainly and inevitably encrease the running of Goods; by which means we may be as much exposed to the Plague, if it can be imported with Goods, as if Quarantanes were not en-

\* Mead: Discourse, p. 28.

† Ibid. p. 29.



joined: especially if it be consider'd, that such Goods as are clandestinely run on shore, will probably be kept more close, and therefore be the more likely to retain the Infection. Whereas, if instead of performing Quarantanes, all suspected Ships should only be obliged to open their Goods upon Deck, as there would then be no new Inducement to the running of Goods, fewer Goods would be brought on shore without having had a previous airing; and consequently we should be better secured from foreign Infection than if the Quarantine Scheme takes place.

§ 4. If Lazarettoes were made here in *England*, that is, if Places were set apart and appointed for the Reception of infected Persons and Goods, or of Persons and Goods coming from infected Places; and if it be supposed, that by remaining in these Places for the space of forty Days, they may be cleared of the Infection they had brought with them: nevertheless considering the Largeness of our Trade, there must be other Ships continually arriving; and since Persons and Goods in a Lazaretto must be as liable as otherwise to receive Infection; it follows, that whenever they are dismiss'd, tho they have got rid of their own, yet they must in all probability have received, and bring with them, some part of the new come Infection. Whence it may appear, that if the Infection can be received from Persons or Goods, Quarantanes are no Security; and if it is not received that way, they

they are not only useless but a very great Grievance.

5. If the Seeds of Contagion can be brought by Persons and Goods, then the making Lazarettoes must be erecting and establishing so many Store-houses or Seminaries of Contagion; to which may be fitly applied what Dr. Mead has said with respect to the shutting up of Houses and the confining People within Lines \*, ' For while Contagion is kept nursed up in a Lazaretto, and continually increased by daily Additions and Supplies, it is impossible but by Degrees the Air should become tainted: The confining infected Persons and Goods within Lazarettoes is only keeping so many Seminaries of Contagion, sooner or later to be dispersed abroad. And in another part of his Discourse, speaking of confining People within infected Places †, ' For confining People and shutting them up together in great Numbers will make the Distemper rage with augmented Force, even to the increasing it beyond what can easily be imagined.' What is here urged does not only make against shutting up Houses, and against enclosing People within Lines, but also against confining People within Lazarettoes; for in these the Contagion must be kept, and, according to the Doctor, nursed up; it must be continually increased by means of infected Persons, or of

\* Mead's Discourse, p. 34.

† I. id. p. 56.

Persons and Goods coming from infected Places: and by being thus increased and thus nursed up, it must become exceedingly intense. The making Lazarettoes therefore, is bringing so many infected Places home to us; and every Person coming out of a Lazaretto, or every Parcel of Goods brought from thence, may be said to come directly from an infected Place.

6. EITHER the Seeds of Contagion must remain in the Goods, and then Quarantanes are to no purpose, or they must be separated from them, and conveyed away by the Motion of the Air. If the latter be admitted, it must be allowed withal, that by the Motion of the Air, they may be conveyed farther and farther, so as to spread the Infection not only all over the Lazaretto, but likewise to the adjacent Cottages and Villages; and so as to infect any Person who shall happen to be or come near the Place: And as the Lazarettoes will be continually supplied with the Seeds of Contagion, by means of infected Persons or of Persons and Goods arriving from infected Places; they may be look'd upon as Funds and Sources of Contagion, whence Infection must continually flow, and be derived all around them; and to the adjacent Parts.

7. AND we find in Fact, they are not sufficient for the keeping off the Plague: for tho at *Marseilles* all Ships coming from *Turkey*, or other Places suspected of Infection, have been obliged



obliged to perform Quarantanes, yet we see thereby they have not been secured; the Plague has found its way amongst them notwithstanding: And it still continues to make its way in spite of Lines and Trenches. If it be said, that possibly it might be for want of due Observance of them, I answer 'tis so far from being likely they should be performed more strictly here, that we cannot hope to have them near so well observed; for as the Trade to *London* is vastly larger than to *Marseilles*, hence it will become more difficult to see to the due Observance of them: and besides, if in an arbitrary Kingdom a strict Observance cannot be exacted, it must not be expected in a free Government.

8. If Infection can be brought by Shipping, Quarantanes will be found of precarious and uncertain Use; unless they be enjoined at all times, and to all Shipping from what Part of the World soever they come; for it may very easily happen, that a Ship may come away from a Place newly infected, and be arrived here, before we have received the News of that Place's being infected; and it must take up still more time before the Government can have issued, and the proper Officers can have received, the necessary Directions as to those Affairs. Farther, Goods may be brought to us from infected Places by the way of other Countries, in which Case, it is most probable, they will not have been unpack'd, so that according to the Doctor, the Seeds of Contagion

gion being closely bound up in them, will be retained there till, the *Pandora's* Box being opened, the Poison shall fly out amongst us. If therefore Quarantanes be not enjoined at all Times and to all Shipping whatever, they are a very uncertain and insufficient Means of Security.

AND tho such an univerfal Quarantane should be enjoined, even still we should not be secure; for if Ships coming from infected Places be permitted to come near the Shore, it will be impossible to prevent all kind of Commerce and Correspondence with them; so that if Infection can be brought by Persons or Goods, the only way to be secure, is to break of all Commerce and Correspondence with the rest of the World.

As to burning of Ships or Goods, that can never be of any Service, but on the other hand, if the Notion of importing Infection has any grounds, it may more probably be the Means of occasioning the Plague; for whatever infectious Matter may reside in the Ships or Goods, the heat of the Fire will necessarily throw it all at once into the Air and give it an additional Force.

THUS it has been made appear, that Quarantanes are not sufficient for keeping off the Plague; and also that we should be better secured from it, if all Ships coming from infected Places were only obliged to have their Goods opened upon Deck. Farther if it be consider'd, that the enjoining Quarantanes

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does

does, and must of course, propagate and keep up Fears and Frights amongst the People, filling them with dreadful Apprehensions of Danger, such as otherwise might never come into their Thoughts, and as it will occasion the running of Goods suspected of Infection; it may appear too, that even upon the Doctor's Principles, the enforcing Quarantanes is the most likely Means of bringing the Plague amongst us.

## S E C T. VI.

*The enjoining Quarantanes not the Interest of this Nation.*

**B**UT let it be supposed that Quarantanes could in some manner or other be enforced, so as to become an effectual Means of Security; I am persuaded it might still be made appear, it would not be for the Interest of this Nation to enforce them. In order to have a right View of this Matter, it must be considered, that all things that can be offer'd have their Inconveniencies as well as Conveniencies, and that the weighing and comparing these together is the only Means of judging what is fit to be chosen, and what to be rejected. Why do People run the Risque and Danger of the Seas, but because they hope thereby to provide against the greater Evils of Poverty and Want, or else to gain Riches and Wealth, which may seem a Good more than equal



equal to the Risque, and Danger? Wherefore, tho the Plague be an Evil much to be dreaded, yet if the Measures necessary for the securing us from it must occasion more and greater Evils, it may be most adviseable to run the risque of the Plague, rather than submit to such hard Measures. Now as it cannot be doubted but the enforcing Quarantanes in a trading Nation, must occasion many and great Inconveniencies and Evils; these should be consider'd as well as the Good we may thereby hope to have secur'd. to us. The Good we may expect from such Measures is the keeping off the Plague; and the Evils to be feared are the Decay and Ruin of Trade. The Plague may possibly destroy a hundred thousand Lives; but the Loss of Trade may starve and destroy ten times a hundred thousand: For Quarantanes will load our foreign Commerce with such Hardships, and embarrass it with such insuperable Difficulties as will very much discourage Trading, and very greatly diminish it. And considering how great a Part of the People subsist by Manufacturies and Trade, a great Decrease of Trade must soon spread grievous Want and Misery throughout the Kingdom: if Trade decreases, our Wealth and Riches must decrease; and Wealth and Riches are the main Strength and Power of a Nation. For want of Trade the Manufacturers must lie idle; and as the Demand for Goods of all sorts must be lessen'd, the Coun-

try People may not be able to dispose of their Commodities, nor therefore to pay their Rents. Quarantanes will be a new Inducement to the running of Goods, by which Means, as well as by the Decrease of Trade, the Customs must fall short; and if the Customs, then the Funds must be deficient: hence publick Credit must decay, and new Taxes must be laid, and that at a time when our Condition will but ill admit of it. The Loss of Trade must ruin Traders: hence daily Bankrupcies, and hence the Loss of private Credit. And the Want of Credit being added to the Evils mentioned before, will still farther distress and injure Trade: this must bring on other Evils, as Idleness, Poverty, Discontents, &c. and things will thus grow worse and worse, as long as these Hardships and Difficulties shall be continued. And indeed it is hard to say where and when may come the End of this Run of Evils.

BUT it ought especially to be observ'd, that the Evils arising from these Measures must be in some degree or other immediate and certain; whereas the Evil to be avoided by them is altogether uncertain, has not happened these fifty six Years, and probably may never happen again. This is a Circumstance that in other Cases is principally regarded, and is allowed to have great weight, and therefore in the present Case ought well to be consider'd.

THIS is not all : for Quarantines, as has already been observed, are the most likely Means of bringing the very thing proposed to be avoided by them ; not only as they promote and daily renew in People's Minds Fears, Frights, and dismal Thoughts of Dangers ; and as they are Inducements to the running of Goods, even of such as are suspected of Infection, &c. but also as they must occasion Distress and Want : And there is nothing can more expose us to the Plague, than Fears and Frights, joined with Distress and Want.

BESIDES, by giving into these Notions and these Measures, we shall not only neglect to make use of those Commercial and Political Advantages which the Mistakes and Mismanagements of a Neighbour Nation have put into our power ; but we shall give others opportunity to run away with those and the like Advantages from our selves.

IT has been said, *Sufficient to the Day is the Evil thereof* : but we are now not only anticipating the evil Day, and bringing upon our selves greater Mischiefs, out of fear of it, than that Day, were it to come, would occasion ; but perhaps too we are bringing upon our selves the evil Day itself, which otherwise might never come.

IT seems to me exceeding plain from the Consideration of what has here been said, that the necessary immediate Injury and Loss that must be occasioned to a trading Nation from  
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the enforcing Quarantanes, will be more than equal to the risque it runs without them of having the Plague, which must be allowed very uncertain, and what may never happen: Or, that the certain Evil will much more than counter-balance the uncertain Good. But possibly some other Person more skill'd in political Arithmetick, may from these Hints, and some other Circumstances, form, and oblige the World with, a much better and more exact Calculation of this Matter.

THUS we see that even upon the Supposition that Quarantanes are sufficient to keep off the Plague, it is not the Interest of this Nation to enforce the Observance of them: But when it is considered farther, as it has been shewn, not only that Quarantanes are not sufficient, but likewise that the Plague cannot be brought by Commerce, surely we must be under some strong Delusion, if still we should pursue such Measures.

## S E C T. VII.

*The Cause or Matter of the Plague not transmitted from sick Persons.*

HAVING made it evident, that the Plague is not, and cannot be convey'd from one Place to another, I come now to shew that Infection is not transmitted from sick Persons.

I. FOR

11. For the Doctor supposes that the Winter-Season does suppress it; but this could never be, if the Cause proceeded from sick Persons.

12. ACCORDING to this Notion, every sick Person must emit vastly more of Pestilential Matter than he had receiv'd.

13. AND the Quantity of Pestilential Matter emitted must be immensely great: For this Notion supposes that a sound Person standing near a sick one, may be instantaneously, as it were, infected, and that this Emission is constant and continual. Suppose then that a sound Person standing a Minute at three or four Yards distance from the sick, can have received a Quantity of Pestilential Matter sufficient to produce the Sickness, it must be reckoned that twenty times as much at least had been emitted in the time as had been intercepted and receiv'd into that Person's Body; so that within the space of an Hour a sick Person must emit enough of Pestilential Matter to infect 1200 others, and within the space of twenty four Hours a Quantity sufficient to infect 28800. If then in any Plague 50000 Persons are seized with the Sickness, and it be supposed that one with another they emit the Matter of the Plague for three Days only, there will have been emitted in that time enough to infect 4,320,000,000. I think this sufficient to shew the Absurdity of the Notion; and yet if it were to be calculated strictly,

strictly, the Sum would come out at least an hundred times more than that above.

4. IF the Cause of the Disease was thus transmitted from sick Persons, it is not easy to conceive how the Plague, when once it had seized any Place, should ever cease but with the Destruction of all the Inhabitants: For according to this Notion every sick Person is a Source of Infection from whence Pestilential Matter is incessantly derived and communicated all around it; and every single diseased Person is suppos'd capable of furnishing and spreading Infection over a whole Town or Country, how large soever it be; wherefore as the Numbers of the Sick encrease, the Sources of the Infection being encreased, the Infection flowing from them must encrease too: the Encrease of Infection must multiply the Numbers of the Sick; and the Numbers of the Sick being multiplied, must still farther encrease and augment the Infection: So that the Plague must necessarily grow more and more extensive and violent, as long as there remain any to be infected, and from whom, being infected, more infectious Matter may be bred and emitted. Out of the great number of Objections and Arguments which make against the Doctor's Notion, he seems to have been aware of this one only; in order to evade which, he is obliged to make a corrupted State of Air necessary to the Production of the Plague, and then supposes it will be suppressed, and cease



( 37 )  
cease when the Qualities of Air are amended : ' A corrupted State of Air, says he, &c. ' but having given this Paragraph at large before †, I refer thereto.

IT may here be observed, that since these Atoms have not Force to infect, but in conjunction with a corrupted State of Air, it is very evident that the Infection is a third thing formed from the Junction of the Atoms with the Corruption of Air; and consequently that the something emitted from sick Persons is not Infection.

THE Doctor has not told us what he means precisely by a corrupted State of Air; which methinks he should have done, when he was thereby to account for and remove a Difficulty which otherwise threatened his Scheme: But since he speaks of restoring it to an healthy State, it must be, however, an unhealthy State of Air.

AN unhealthy State of Air, from whatsoever Cause it becomes so, is such a State of Air as deprives People of Health, and consequently produces Sickness. These Effects must be produced as far as the unhealthy State of Air reaches, or is extended; and all Sicknesses must be more or less violent and deadly, as the Causes which produce them are more or less strong and powerful. If therefore the State of Air be in a very great degree unhealthy, the Sicknesses caused there-

\* Mead's Discourse, p. 13, 14.

† Page 29.

by must be in a very great degree violent and deadly; and all Sicknesses which are general, and withal in a very great degree violent and deadly, are properly speaking Plagues.

WHENCE it appears, not only that what the Doctor here says is true, that a corrupted State of Air, and something emitted from diseased Persons, will produce the Plague; but even, that a corrupted State of Air, and something emitted from sound Persons, will do it too; or, that a corrupted State of Air is compleatly capable of doing it without the help of either.

BUT then how does it appear that these Atoms emitted from sick Persons have any Share or Concern in the Affair? This the Doctor should have shewn, but has not; and I think verily never will.

FOR if they have any share in it, or can contribute any thing, it must be in one of the two following Ways; either as they have in their own Nature a Tendency to produce the Sickness, but being as it were diluted and dispersed by the Air into which they issue, and being thereby kept at too great a distance from each other, they cannot make Impressions strong enough; or else that they only contribute something towards rendring the Air unhealthy. If the former be supposed, thence it will follow, that if the Atoms should be collected and brought together, so as to act in Numbers, and attack with multiplied  
and

and compacted Force, they then would operate more strongly, and make Impressions sufficient to produce the Sickness, even without the Assistance of the Air : Now this must happen whenever the Plague shall have seized its thousands and its ten thousands ; for then the Quantity of emitted Matter must be immensely great, and must of necessity be close crouded together, so that People must be surrounded with these Atoms thick on all sides, and draw them in with every Breath : Wherefore if these Atoms have any the least degree of noxious Force, it will be manifested when they come to be so greatly multiplied, and to act in such crouded Numbers : and if thus crouded together, they can have Force sufficient to produce the Sickness without the Assistance of the Air, whatever Changes may happen afterwards in the State of Air, the Plague must still continue notwithstanding, and grow worse and worse, as long as additional Supplies of Atoms shall be continually emitted. But if they cannot even in such vast Quantities act with Force sufficient, we may conclude they have no noxious Force at all.

IN like manner, if they tend only to make the Air unhealthy, and therefore being at first in small quantity, may stand in need of the Concurrence of some other ill Qualities of Air ; yet when they come so vastly to abound, the Air must of necessity remain unhealthy, tho other ill Qualities should be absent ; and this way too the Objection holds : so that we may



conclude they do not contribute any thing, even in the least degree.

THE Doctor therefore, to evade the Objection, is forced to declare that the Atoms emitted from sick Persons cannot cause the Plague without the Assistance of a corrupted Air. This has been allowed; but then it has been proved w<sup>ithal</sup>, that a corrupted State of Air is of it self effectually capable; and also that the Atoms emitted from diseased Persons have no kind of share, nor even the least concern, in the Affair, but are altogether insignificant and inoffensive.

SOME farther Evidence may be had from Mr. Graunt's *Observations on the Bills of Mortality*. 'The Plague, says he \*, of 1636. lasted twelve Years, in eight whereof there died 2000 *per Annum*, one with another, and never under 300. The which shews, that the Contagion of the Plague depends more upon the Disposition of the Air, than upon the Effluvia from the Bodies of Men.

WHICH also we prove by the sudden Jumps which the Plague hath made, leaping in one Week from 118 to 927; and back again from 993 to 258; and from thence again the very next Week to 852. The which Effects must surely be rather attributed to change of the Air, than of the Constitution of Mens Bodies, otherwise than as this depends upon that.

It may be also noted, That many times other Pestilential Diseases, as Purple Fevers, Small-Pox, &c. do fore-run the Plague a Year, two or three; for in 1622 there died but 8000: in 1623, 11000: in 1624, about 12000: till in 1625 there died of all Diseases above 54000.

THE next thing to be considered is the Matter of Fact, and what may be deduced from it; whence likewise it may be demonstrated, that the Plague is not received, or in the common way of speaking, is not caught from sick Persons; for there are a great many Instances, that People have been near the Sick, and yet have not had the Sickness. This in other Cases is generally allowed sufficient; if for example, it should be said that the Touch of a seventh Son will cure the Rheumatism or any other Ailment, it would be thought enough to answer, that several Persons having tried it, had found no Benefit thereby, and therefore if some others had grown well soon after they had received the Touch, it must have been purely accidental.

SOME Persons have indeed been seized, whilst they have been near the Sick, or soon afterwards; but hence it does not follow that they have caught it from them: for suppose the Constitution of Air unhealthy, and capable of producing a pestilential Sickness, since People are not exempted from its Influences by having been near diseased Persons, and as it is not known beforehand who will be seized with

with the Sickness, or when and where they will be seized; it may as well happen to those who have been near the Sick as to any others, and at the Time, or soon after, they have been near them, as well as at any other Time or Place; and yet not be in the least owing to any thing emitted from the Sick, but altogether to the Influences of the Air.

If it be farther urged, that the some Persons have been near the Sick and have not been infected, this may be attributed to the Strength and Vigour of their Constitutions; I answer, it has never been remarked that such only have escaped: on the contrary, Nurses, whose Constitutions cannot be generally reckoned stronger than others, have usually escaped better. But granting that a difference of Constitutions is to be allowed, this difference must be in some determinate Proportion, and cannot be supposed infinite; for instance, some Persons may bear double the usual Dose either of Emeticks or Catharticks, but then four times, or six times the usual Quantity, will be too much even for the most vigorous to bear; in like manner sure none, even the strongest Constitution, can bear above eight or ten times more than the *quantum sufficit* of emitted Matter. Now it is supposed that People usually may be infected instantaneously as it were, and at four or five Yards distance from the Sick; and yet some have escaped, who have not only been with the Sick some Minutes, but who have been  
many



many Days together with them, attending on them, and constantly assisting them; nay, *Hodges* tells us, that many went into the very Beds in which People had died, and that before they were even cold, and yet they did not catch the Sickness; for speaking of the Courage with which People were at length inspired, and the good Effects of that Courage, he lays, 'And even what is almost beyond Belief, those Citizens, who before were afraid even of their Friends and Relations, would, without Fear, venture into the Houses and Rooms, where infected Persons had but a little before breathed their last; nay, such Comforts did inspire the languishing People, and such Confidence, that many went into the Beds where Persons had died, before they were even cold or cleansed from the Stench of the diseased.' Thus we see that some Persons must have born without Injury the Force of a thousand times or ten thousand times more of emitted Matter, than the Quantity usually accounted sufficient; which would be utterly impossible, if Infection were to be received in this way or manner, or if the Atoms had any noxious Force; whence it is evident, even to a Demonstration, that it could not be from something emitted, that any Persons had been infected, but from some other Cause; and that the Atoms emitted from diseased Persons are not of a noxious Nature, but altogether inoffensive.

## S E C T. VIII.

*The Plague not infectious proved from the Nature of Plagues and of other Diseases.*

**I**F we look into the Nature of Plagues and other Diseases, or into the manner of their proceeding, instead of meeting with any thing that can make in favour of the Notion that the Plague is catched of sick Persons, we may thence be furnished with the most clear and most convincing Arguments against it.

1. **F**OR It must be the Matter of the Disease, that only can be capable of producing the Disease in others; but when People die, either they have not at all discharged it, or not in any great Quantity; for if they had, they would recover. Therefore dead People never can emit any thing infectious, nor, generally speaking, those who don't recover. Whereas the mistaken Notion I am now refuting, supposes the greatest Danger of Infection from the dead, and from such as are most likely to die; which plainly shews it groundless and not founded in the Nature and Reason of things.

2. **I**T is not to be conceived that People, by being near the Sick, should receive Infection from them, unless the Matter of the Sickness were discharged by insensible Perspiration or by Breathing; but it is never so discharged. This is evident, because sick Persons

Persons are never recovered by means of an encreased Perspiration, or by breathing, nor do they ever find Relief thereby.

3. THE matter of the Disease in all pestilential Sickneses is not discharged by insensible Perspiration, but always by sensible Eruptions or Discharges: Whoever has recovered of the Plague in *France*, it has only been by means of Buboës or Carbuncles; whence it is plain the matter of the Sicknes is of so gross a Nature, that it cannot pass the Pores of the Skin, but therefore raises it into Tumours; and if it cannot pass the Pores of the sick Persons Skins, it cannot infect those who shall stand near them: And when the Tumours shall be broken, it is still involved in tough and viscid Matter, so that it cannot fly off, or be transmitted to Persons near; else Surgeons who dress the Tumours could not escape catching the Disease: but we find Surgeons no more subject to it than other People, which makes it evident this Matter is not infectious either at a distance or by external Contact. Sometimes the Matter of the Sicknes has been discharged, by means of large and copious Sweats: but tho these may be said to pass the Pores, yet this Matter is not the finer *Perspirabile* which passes easily and insensibly, nor of that sort; but of a quite different Kind and Nature, and which impedes and hinders Perspiration. This appears from Experience and Experiment, by which it is found, there passes a less Quantity



thro the Pores, when People sweat, than does at other times; for the Matter which is discharged by Sweats, is of a gross and sluggish Nature, and of a gelatinous Kind, so that it is with Difficulty thrust out and forced thro the Pores, by the Motion and Impetus of the Fluids, and by the Heat of the Body, greatly encreased beyond the natural; together with the Force of the contractile Fibres. Therefore when this Impetus, this Heat and Force is wanting, it must of course rest and remain upon the Surface, and cannot pass off or be transmitted, so as to injure such as shall be near. If it was otherwise, then Nurses, who do all the Offices about the Sick, and handle them, would of all others be the most liable to be infected; but Nurses have not been found more subject to the Disease than others: Wherefore it may be concluded, that the Sweat of diseased Persons is not infectious to the by-Standers, nor by Contact.

AND indeed, the All-wise and Prescient Author of Nature seems, in a particular manner, to have provided against this dreadful Inconvenience, that we might not be deterred from yielding Assistance to our fellow Creatures, when labouring under the more violent Diseases, they are thereby rendered helpless to themselves, and must inevitably perish, if help from others be denied them. But infinite Goodness, ever careful of the Welfare of his Creatures, has joined Safety and Security with their Duty; and therefore has so

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ordered and constituted things, that the Matter of the several Diseases with which Mankind is afflicted, especially of the more Violent and Malignant, is always discharged in such Form and Manner, and so blended and diluted with other Humours generally of a viscid or gelatinous Kind, that those Persons who shall perform the necessary Offices about the Sick, are not by that means liable to any Injury : Instead of that, as far as I can learn, and by enquiry it will be found, that Nurses and such as have constantly attended on the Sick, have escaped much better than any others.

SOME of the Antients prescribed Amulets, of Arsenick or some other poisonous Mineral, to be worn by way of Preservative against the Plague. They seemed to imagine that the Plague might generally owe its Rise to the Salts of Minerals, by some means or other disengaged from their respective Concretes, and forc'd into the Air; and they conceived that those Salts might be attracted by the mineral Kind, to which before they had belonged, or to the Salts of which they were supposed to have some affinity; for it is allowed, that Bodies of like kind do more or less attract each other : wherefore if any thing is capable of attracting to itself the Cause of the Plague, whatever that Cause may be, it must be the Matter of the Disease, whether it be in the diseased Person, or discharged from him; for nothing else can have so near Affinity or Likeness to it. If this

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Way

Way of Reasoning be admitted, it is not difficult to account whence it has been that Nurses have escaped better than other Persons; and it will appear so far from being true, that the Disease is caught from diseased Persons, that on the contrary the being constantly near the Sick, must be the best Preservative against the Plague.

4. OTHER violent Fevers, especially such as are termed putrid, proceed in the same Way and Manner as Plague-Fevers; but other putrid Fevers are not, neither can Plague-Fevers be infectious to the By-standers, or by Contract.

THE learned Dr. Mead, when he is endeavouring to give us some Account how the Plague becomes infectious, tells us \*, ' The Blood in all Malignant Fevers, especially Pestilential ones, at the latter End of the Disease, does, like fermenting Liquor, throw off a great Quantity of active Particles upon the several Glands of the Body, particularly upon those of the Mouth and Skin, from which the Secretions are naturally the most constant and large.'

IT is to be observed, that to make this Account a little plausible, a great quantity of Particles are sent to the Glands of the Mouth; whereas in reality, in all the more violent Fevers, those Glands are always empty, whence the Mouth is dry and clammy.

\* Mead's Discourse, p. 12.



my, and the Tongue becomes rough and parched. And the insensible Perspiration is prodigiously encreased, yet such Parts only of the Blood and Juices are thrown off this way as are Innocent or beneficial, which therefore must be an Injury to the Patient; and nothing noxious is thrown off, by which the Sick could receive any Benefit.

IT may be observ'd, that these noxious Particles are here supposed not to be thrown off till the latter end of the Disease; wherefore unless these Particles can infect others before they are emitted, diseased Persons cannot be infectious, if ever, until the latter End of the Disease. And as to those who die, the Disease may be said to have no latter End, that is, not an end in which these Particles are thrown off; consequently those who die, as has before been taken notice, can never be infectious.

IT may farther be observed, that all Malignant Fevers, without Exception, are here said to throw off these Particles; wherefore if Plague Fevers are infectious, even according to the Doctor, all other malignant Fevers must be so too: but Experience shews the contrary.

5. IF Diseases discharged by Buboes can be communicated in the Way I have been considering, the Venereal Disease would be so communicated: but it is very manifest the Venereal Disease is not infectious to the By-standers, nor by Contact, except Venereal.

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6. If Plague-Sicknesses, discharged by Sweat, can therefore be communicated to Persons near, all other Sicknesses discharged that way would be infectious too; but the contrary is evinced by daily Experience and Observation.

### S E C T. IX.

*The Plague not infectious, proved from the Nature of Poisons and poisonous Vapours.*

1. **I**F any kind of Matter, Venom, or Poison is capable of producing a Disease, which can be communicated to others standing near the Sick, or by Contact; Sublimate Mercury, Arsenick, the Venom of Vipers, or of mad Dogs, &c. would cause such Sicknesses: but it is evident beyond Contradiction, that People may stand by, and touch such, as have taken these, or any other Poisons whatsoever, or that have been bitten by these or any other venomous Animals, without receiving any Injury: We therefore may be certain that the Venom, Poison, or Matter of the Plague, whatever it be, cannot produce a Sickneſs communicative by Contact, or to the By-standers.

2. If any kind of Damps, Vapours, or Effluvia are capable of producing an infectious Sickneſs, then Chymical Effluvia, or the Damps and Vapours of Mines, or Pits, &c. would cause ſuch Sickneſs: but thoſe who are  
affect-

affected by means of these Damps, Vapours, or Effluvia, &c. do not infect such as stand near them; and consequently if the Plague be supposed to arise from any thing of these kinds in the Air, we may be assured that the Sickness is not to be communicated from one Person to another.

3. THE Mortality at the Affize at Oxford, called the *Black Affize*, whether it was occasioned by a poisonous Steam from the Earth, or by the Stench of the Goal, or from whatever other Cause it might arise, was certainly, for the Extent of it, one of the most cruel and deadly Pestilences that ever has been known; and yet tho the Persons affected were dispersed throughout the City, they did not communicate the Sickness to any others.

4. IN confirmation of what has been said, I shall add one other Instance, which I have received from Mr. Fox, a *Canary Merchant*, now in *London*. This Gentleman lived in the Isle of *Teneriff*, at the time when a Plague raged with great Fury at *Santa Cruz* in that Island. The Place he resided at was the City *De la Laguna*, about three or four Miles from *Santa Cruz*: And he assures me, that tho a great many diseased Persons were brought thither, some of which too died there, and tho the People of *La Laguna* visited and conversed with those sick Persons, yet none were hurt thereby; nor was there a single Instance of any Person's having the  
Disease



Disease who had not been at *Santa Cruz*, the Place where the Sickness raged.

A MULTITUDE of other Arguments might be urged, perhaps stronger than those I have used; but I must desist at present, for already this Discourse is swelled to a larger Bulk than was at first intended: I shall therefore conclude this Chapter with a Translation of the Piece of *Latin* on the Title-Page.

\* Neither can I possibly conceive, whence it is that the Nature of the Plague should have been render'd more cruel and outrageous in these more temperate, than in the intemperate Regions: But if the prevailing Notions, and the Customs of these temperate Regions, may render the Magistrates propense to those inhuman Restraints of the Diseased, and may lead the Physicians into worse Methods of Cure than those which commonly obtain in the Nations called barbarous, and situated in a more intemperate Climate; let us vouchsafe at length to learn from those honest, and to be well instructed by those ignorant People: Neither let it be esteemed a Disgrace for any one to depart from his Opinion, whensoever it is erroneous, tho he may expect for so doing, to have the Praise of but a few good Men only.

\* Dissertat. de Peste a Gualtero Harris, p. 34.

## *A Letter to Dr. HALLEY.*

S I R,

**I** FIND in Dr. Mead's Discourse an Account of a Plague brought to *Bermudas* in a Sack of Cotton; which Account it is said you furnished him with. As I have a Design to make publick my Thoughts upon the Subject of the Plague, I should be willing to be more fully informed of that Matter; and therefore I beg the favour of you to satisfy me as to the following Particulars.

IF you was there at the time this happen'd? or if not, From whom you had the Account?

WHENCE the Sack of Cotton was brought? And if the Place from whence it came was infected at the Time it was put into the Sack?

IF the Importation of Cotton be prohibited at *Bermudas*? Or how it came to be put ashore by stealth?

IF it came from the infected Place in that Sack? Or if it had been taken out of a Bale

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and put into that Sack? If it had, whether the Persons died who did it?

WHAT Quantity of Cotton the Sack might hold?

IF there was any Infection on board the Ship in which it was brought?

IF there was no Mortality there before this Ship arrived; and If People had not died in greater Numbers than usually?

IF no body had died before the Arrival of the Ship, or before the distributing of the Cotton, with Symptoms like those which appear'd afterwards?

IF the Persons who first opened the Sack, or who distributed the Cotton, died? And when they died?

How long it was after the Cotton had been distributed before the Plague shewed itself?

IF those People who were the first that died of the Plague, had received any of this Cotton?

WHAT Time of the Year it was?

FOR what Reasons People attributed the Rise of the Plague to that Sack of Cotton?

S I R,

As a Subject of this Importance ought to be handled with the utmost Care and Exactness; and as the Knowledge of the foregoing Particulars may be helpful for that purpose: I hope you will be pleased to let your Answers



( 75 )

swers be very clear and full, and likewise that  
you will let me hear from you as soon as  
conveniently you can. Herein you will ob-  
lige,

S I R,

*Tours, &c.*

*F I N I S.*





Next Week will be published,

**T**HE second Part of this Discourse,  
wherein will be consider'd the real  
Causes of the Plague, together with the Me-  
thods of Prevention, &c.

Just published,

**A** SCHEME for proper Methods to be  
taken, should it please God to visit us  
with the PLAGUE. By Sir John Colbatch, a  
Member of the College of Physicians. Sold  
by J. Roberts in Warwick-Lane, and A. Dodd  
without Temple-Bar.



A  
DISCOURSE  
OF THE  
PLAGUE.

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PART II.

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Wherein are consider'd the real Causes  
of the PLAGUE, together with the  
Method of Prevention.

---

By GEORGE PYE M. D.

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L O N D O N,  
Printed by J. DARBY, and sold by J. ROBERTS  
in *Warwick-Lane*, and A. DODD without *Tem-  
ple-Bar*. M. DCC. XXI.



DISCOURSE

PLAQUE

PART II

Which are contained in the  
of the LAQUE, together with the  
Method of Preparation.

By GEORGE P. M.D.

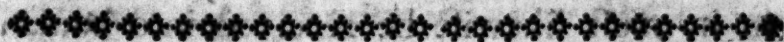
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## CHAP. I.

### *Of the real Causes of the Plague.*



## SECT. I.

### *Of the Constitution of the Air.*

**H**AVING in the preceding Part, considered the Causes of the Plague, assigned by Dr. Mead; and having shewn, that two of his three Causes are in reality no Causes, and that they have no manner of Concern in the Affair; I come now to propose, what, in my Opinion, may be the real Causes of it.

As all Causes must be equal to their Effects, and as the Effects of the Plague are general and extensive; it must be something general and extensive, that can be the Cause of such Effects. Now there are but two things capable of producing very violent Sickneses, and

that withal can affect so generally and extensively; and these are, An unhealthy Constitution of Air, and An unwholesome Diet. There is indeed a third thing, which may, and does, very greatly promote and encrease the Pestilence, but I question whether it be of it self capable of producing it; and that is, A pannick Fear and Consternation.

I TAKE into the Notion of the Constitution of the Air, not only its known Qualities and Properties, but whatever may be mixed with it, or float in it: This is necessary, because whatever is mixed with the Air, and moves in it, must likewise be received into human Bodies with it, and must act with it upon them: for instance, it is allowed that there are certain Salts in the Air, which are either mixed with it, or float in it; to the Nature or Quantity of which, in some measure, is owing the Healthiness or Unhealthiness of the Air: consequently these Salts (and any thing else which shall in like manner be mixed and act with it) must be reckoned into the Constitution of the Air.

HENCE arises the Difference of Air as to Healthiness or Unhealthiness in different Places and Countries; for if it was every where alike, pure and unmix'd, the Air of all Places would be alike healthy, at least in the same Climate: but as the Air of some Places, either from the Fumes of great Towns or Cities, or from the Soil or Waters thereabout, or from neighbouring Mines or  
mineral



mineral Eruptions, &c. is filled with foreign Bodies, more than is the Air of other Places; it must needs happen, that some Places must be naturally more unhealthy than others.

HAVING thus stated, what is meant by the Constitution of the Air, I am next to shew that it is a Cause of the Plague; for which purpose, I might produce the Authority of all Ages, the Consent of all Writers from the great *Hippocrates* down to Dr. *Mead*, one or two Moderns only excepted: Nevertheless, tho I might urge this, perhaps unparallel'd, Unanimity of Agreement and Consent; yet, as Authority and universal Consent may be and have been often on the side of Falshood, I shall lay no Stress upon it, but proceed to prove what I have propos'd, by Reasoning and Argument. In order to which, it may be proper to consider,

THAT the Air is a Fluid which encloses us on all sides, and in which we live and move.

THAT it is absolutely necessary to the Support and Continuance of the animal Life, which could not without it subsist a single Minute.

THAT it is not only of use to move the Lungs, and refresh the Blood as it passes thro them; but is even a necessary Part of the Fluids, without which they would cease to be Fluid: for it is by means of the Air, and its elastick Power, that the intestine Motion of the Blood and Fluids is preserved; that the Globules and Parts are kept at a proper Distance,

Distance, and roll over, and move by each other; for if the Air could be entirely withdrawn, and absolutely excluded from the Interstices or minute Spaces between the Parts of the Blood or Fluids, their Cohesion would of necessity become firm, and the Fluids would be rendered Solids. Hence it may be conceived how deeply the Air is insinuated into the very Texture of the finer Parts of our Constitution; and how necessary a due Temper and Elasticity of Air must needs be, for the preserving the Fluids in a right State.

IT may also be consider'd, that the Air being a Fluid always in Motion, must therefore be incessantly acting, as well upon the Solids, as upon the Fluids of human Bodies; as must in like manner any Salts or other Bodies, that shall be mixed with, or be moved in it.

THAT the Constitution of the Air must operate upon Bodies variously and differently, according as its Qualities and Properties shall alter and vary, or according as the Salts, or Bodies floating in the Air, shall be altered, changed, or varied in their Nature, Qualities, or Quantities.

THE Air therefore is said to be in an healthy State, when it operates in such a manner, with and upon the Fluids and the Solids of human Bodies, as that there is a perfect Agreement between them; and so as  
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that the Animal Oeconomy is preserved in right and exact order.

ON the other hand, it is said to be in an unhealthy State, whenever there is a disagreement between the Constitution of the Air and the Constitution of human Bodies, whereby the animal Oeconomy is disordered.

THE Constitution of the Air may be rendered disagreeable and unhealthy, not only from an Excess, or Vice, or sudden and great Change in some one or more of the known Qualities and Properties of the Air; but also from the noxious Nature or Qualities of the Bodies moving in it.

THE Constitution of the Air must become disagreeable and unhealthy in a greater or less Degree and Proportion, according as the Excess or Vice, &c. in the known Qualities or Properties of the Air are greater or less; or according as the Nature or Qualities of the Bodies mixed with it, are more or less noxious; or according as these Bodies more or less abound in it.

HENCE it may be deduced, that whenever there shall happen a very great and extraordinary Excess or Vice in any one or more of the known Qualities and Properties of the Air, or whenever the Air shall abound in an unusual and extraordinary manner with Salts, &c. otherwise innocent, or whenever it shall be filled with Salts or Bodies in their own Nature noxious; then the Constitution of the Air must of necessity be rendered in a great and

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extraordinary Degree unhealthy, and there must ensue a great and extraordinary Mortality, or the Plague.

THAT the Air does receive Salts and other Bodies from the Earth and from the Waters, which Salts, &c. do operate with it, is evident from hence, because the Air of some Places is more unhealthy than the Air of other Places: and it may be observed that the Air of those Places or Countries where the Soil is most rich and fertile, all other Circumstances being the same, are most liable to be unhealthy.

WE have an Instance of this, in the Country round about *Rome*, called the *Campagna di Roma*, which is a very fine plain Country, with an exceeding rich Soil; but being neither cultivated nor drained, it becomes rotten and putrid, and sends forth yearly, during the Heat of Summer, noxious Effluvia in such abundance, that it is counted very dangerous, at that time, even to pass thro' it, and certain Death to abide in it; so that it remains destitute of Inhabitants.

AND we learn from Fact and Experience that the Air may be render'd unhealthy or pestilential from Steams, Fumes, Vapours, Effluvia, Exhalations, Eruptions, &c. of which History furnishes Instances in abundance; but it would be too tedious to recount them.

IT may be remarked by the way, that the Salts or other Bodies, thus forced into the  
Air

Air, are generally of too gross and heavy Nature, to be raised to any great Height in it, or to reach the Hills or higher Lands; and therefore these are many times very healthy at the time the Plague rages in the lower Lands adjoining.

From what has been said, it may appear, that great and extraordinary Mortalities, or the Pestilence, very often arises from the Constitution of the Air. But to make this more evident, I shall add a few Arguments more.

I have shewn, that nothing else is capable of it, except the Diet; but it is many times owing to the Constitution of the Air, rather than to the Diet, because in many Plagues some People have been seized, who have not been blameable on account of their Diet.

The last Plague in London does not seem to have been chargeable on the Diet of the People, or their manner of living; because we are not amended in those Respects since that time, and yet we have not been visited with the Plague.

3. WHENEVER the Plague does arise from the Diet, it must be owing to some considerable and material Change or Alteration in it: for if the Diet and manner of living be the same as it had been for any number of Years before; no Reason can be given, why the Sicknes had not raged before. Again, if the Diet be the Cause of the

Plague, as long as the Cause continues the same, the same Effects must continue: the Plague consequently could never cease, but by means of some material Alteration or Amendment in the Peoples Diet and Manner of living. But many Plagues have happened where the Peoples Diet, &c. has not been altered in any material Circumstances for many Years before; and many Plagues have ceased, when there has been no material Amendment of their Diet, &c. Therefore such Plagues could not be owing to the Peoples Diet or manner of living, but to the Constitution of the Air.

4. THERE are many Places in Turkey and elsewhere, the Air of which, from their Situation, &c. is so very unhealthy, especially at certain Times and Seasons, that the People inhabiting them, must needs be liable to frequent Mortalities or Plagues, tho' their Diet and manner of living be ever so wholesome and regular.

5. As Pestilential differ not from Epidemick Diseases, but in Degree of Violence only; and as these are owing to the Air, it follows that pestilential Sickneses must likewise have their Rise from the Constitution of the Air.

TO SECT.



## S E C T. II.

*Objections answered.*

**T**H E R E are two Objections, that may be made to this Opinion, which shall now be consider'd.

I T may be said, that some People have lived in infected Towns and Countries, all the time those Places have been infected, and consequently have lived in the same Air with others who have died of the Plague, and yet have never been seized with the Sicknss themselves.

Now if it can be shewn from the Nature of things, that all People cannot be affected alike, tho the Constitution of the Air be the Cause of the Plague, then this Objection will be disarmed of all its Force: And this will appear from the following Observations.

I. T H E R E is no Town or Country, but some Parts of it, or Places in it, are different from other Parts or Places in some Circumstances or other; for instance, some Parts may be lower than others, some may be nearer Hills or Mountains, some nearer Waters; in some Parts the Air may be more confined, &c. Now every one of these Circumstances, and many others, which perhaps may not be taken notice of, must make some difference, and may render the noxious Qualities of the Air less forcible in one particular

Spot, than in other Places hard by; whereas if the Constitution of the Air be not the Cause of the Plague, those Circumstances could make no difference at all. From some different Circumstances of this sort, it must probably have been, that some particular Streets of this City remained in a manner free from the last great Sickness, whilst it raged in all other Parts of the Town.

2. If the Unhealthiness of the Air does arise from any thing it receives from the Earth, or from the Waters, then the People will be more or less liable to the Sickness, according as their Dwellings are situated, with regard to those Sources of noxious Vapours, Effluvia, &c.

3. WHENEVER a Person's Constitution is any ways disorder'd, by some Accident or Irregularity, it will be more liable to the Influences of the Air, than at other times; and consequently those People, who shall have their Constitutions thus disorder'd, may have the Plague, when others remain free from it.

4. SOME Constitutions are naturally much stronger than others, and therefore more capable of withstanding the Impressions of the Air.

5. As there must be some difference in the Nature, Frame, and Make of different Persons Constitutions, in which respects some may be better suited than others to the particular Nature and Qualities of the then predominating Constitution of Air; it may hap-

happen, that some Persons, tho' not stronger, may yet be better able to withstand, and throw off the Infection of the Air, than others.

6. THE manner of living being different, may occasion a very great Difference between some Persons and others: for as one manner of living may be better adapted to those particular Qualities or Properties, from whence the Constitution of the Air becomes unhealthy, than some other ways of living; it follows, that the Persons, who live in the better adapted way, may escape, tho' the Plague rages all around them.

As in every Plague, all the foregoing different Circumstances, and perhaps more than I have mentioned, must necessarily happen; it is impossible that every one should be affected alike, and therefore some Persons may escape, even tho' the greatest Part of the People of the Place should be destroyed with it.

THE next Objection is, That if the Cause of the Plague be in the Air, the Wind, or Motion of the Air, would soon convey it to the neighbouring Countries, whereas sometimes we see that Places near adjoining are either not infected, or not till some Months after it had raged in a Town or Country not far distant. But the following Particulars being duly consider'd, will entirely take off the Force of this Objection.

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1. THE same Objection may be made with respect to all other Epidemick Sickneses; and yet no body makes any difficulty to admit, that these arise from the Constitution of the Air; tho they can no more, than in the Case of the Plague, account how it comes to pass, that any particular Constitution predominates in some particular Places, and not in others, perhaps not far distant.

2. THEREFORE, as Epidemick Constitutions predominating at certain Places, for instance at *London*, are not ordinarily extended far into the Country; so likewise Pestilential Constitutions may not diffuse their Influences to any great Distance.

3. IF any Epidemick Constitution extends still farther, so as to spread over several Countries, yet, since the same Constitution is never supposed to surround the World; it will of necessity happen that some Places must have escaped the Influences of it, and those even near adjoining to others, such as that have been affected by it. Now as Pestilential Constitutions of Air differ not from the Epidemical, but in degree of Violence only, it may, and does undoubtedly, happen with respect to Pestilential, as in the Case of Epidemick Constitutions.

4. THE Situation of the Countries or Places adjoining, may help to ward off the noxious Qualities, &c. of the Air, so as to prevent their spreading thither.

5. SUP-

5. SUPPOSE the Cause be moved by the Wind into the neighbouring Places or Countries, it must of course be mixed with the Air of the Places it is moved to; by which means the Pestilential Air must necessarily be separated and dispersed, and therefore by degrees be so much weakened, as to lose all its noxious Force.

6. BUT farther, the Constitution of Air, predominating at the neighbouring Places or Countries, may be of a Nature peculiarly fitted or suited to temper, alter or take off the noxious Qualities, &c. of the Pestilential Air, tho it should reach them.

7. If the manner of living be different at those Places, this may secure them from the noxious Influences of the Air, tho it exerts a Pestilential Force at a little distance from them.

MANY other Particulars might be added, but from these it must appear, not only how it may come to pass, that a Pestilential Constitution of Air prevailing in one Place, does not till after some time reach or affect the neighbouring Places, but also why sometimes it does not reach or influence them at all.

## S E C T.

## S E C T. III.

*Of the Diet and Manner of Living:*

**I** AM inclined to think, that the Diet, in which I include the Manner of living, is not often of itself the Cause of the Plague; except when People die of Famine, it be reckoned a Pestilence. However, I shall consider the several Ways in which it may be conceived to do injury: as, (1.) When that which is eaten or drank is in its own Nature unwholesom. (2.) When any thing in either way is taken to Excess. (3.) If the Quantity eaten or drank be less than is proper or requisite. (4.) When that which is eaten, and that which is drank, are not duly proportioned with regard to each other. (5.) When the Diet is not rightly adapted to the Country or Climate in which we live. (6.) By any Irregularity as to Eating, Drinking, Clothing, Sleeping, Working, Exercise, &c. As from these, or any of these, the Animal Oeconomy may be disorder'd, and People be thereby expos'd to the Influences of an Epidemical or Pestilential Air; so likewise by means of unwholesom Diet, Diseases may be produced, even tho the State of Air be as healthy as ordinarily. And if such unwholesom Diet be generally used, and the Diseases thereby produced be violent and deadly, there must



must follow a more than ordinary Mortality, which is the Pestilence.

#### S E C T. IV.

##### *Of a Panick Fear and Consternation.*

**T**H O a Panick Fear and Consternation be not of it self, or when the Air is in an healthy State, capable of producing a Pestilence; it may be said notwithstanding that it has many times proved vastly more destructive than the Pestilence it self: For whatever disturbs, weakens, or disorders the Constitutions of human Bodies, must necessarily expose them to the Influences of an unhealthy Air, and render them very easily susceptible of its noxious Impressions. Now the natural Result of Fear and Perturbation of Mind must be either an invincible Depression of the animal Spirits, or an irregular and confused Motion and Determination of them; hence the whole *Genus nervosum*, or System of the Nerves, must be weakned and disturb'd, and the *Crisis* and Texture of all the Fluids of the Body disordered and broken; by which means, whoever is frighted and terrified, will become much more liable to the Pestilential Impressions, than otherwise: Therefore those Notions and those Methods which tend to fill the Minds of the People with Frights and Terrors, must likewise tend to the Destruction of the People;

because if the People can be generally made to believe, that the Disease is catching, if they are continually alarmed with this Notion, and yet at the same time shall be shut up together and hindered from taking such Measures as they may judge necessary for their Preservation; what distracting Perturbations of Mind must thereby be universally spread amongst them, and what Havock must then be expected from the Influences of a Pestilential Air!

FOR since a Fitness and Disposition in the Subject, is conducive to the Disease, as well as the external Cause, whenever this Fitness and Disposition is in a very great degree and also general, the Plague will become exceedingly more outrageous and deadly, tho the external Cause be supposed to remain the same.

THE three Instances quoted by Dr. Mead, may sufficiently convince us of what has been said. ' It is therefore, *says he*\*, no wonder, ' that great Complaints were sometimes made ' here against this unreasonable Usage [*shutting up the Sick*] which, when they prevail'd so far, as to procure some Release for ' the Sick, were remarkably followed with ' an Abatement of the Disease. The Plague ' in the Year 1636 began with great Violence, ' but Leave being given by the King's Authority for People to quit their Houses, it

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\* Mead's *Discourse*, p. 35, 36, 37.

‘ was observed, That not one in twenty of  
 ‘ the well Persons removed fell Sick, nor one in  
 ‘ ten of the Sick died \*. Which single Instance  
 ‘ alone, had there been no other, should  
 ‘ have been of Weight ever after to deter-  
 ‘ mine the Magistracy against too strict Con-  
 ‘ finements. But besides this, a preceding  
 ‘ Plague, viz. in 1625, affords us another  
 ‘ Instance of a very remarkable Decrease up-  
 ‘ on the discontinuing to shut up Houses. It  
 ‘ was indeed so late in the Year, before this  
 ‘ was done, that the near Approach of Win-  
 ‘ ter was doubtless one Reason for the Dimi-  
 ‘ nution of the Disease, which followed:  
 ‘ Yet this was so very great, that it is at least  
 ‘ past dispute, that the Liberty then permit-  
 ‘ ted was no Impediment to it: For this  
 ‘ opening of the Houses was allowed of in  
 ‘ the beginning of September; and whereas  
 ‘ the last Week in August, there died no less  
 ‘ than 4218, the very next Week, the Bu-  
 ‘ rials were diminished to 3344, and in no  
 ‘ longer time than to the fourth Week after,  
 ‘ 852 †.’

IN another Place he says ||, ‘ Confining  
 ‘ People, and shutting them up together in  
 ‘ great Numbers, will make the Distemper  
 ‘ rage with augmented Force, even to the

\* Discourse upon the Air, by Tho. Cook.

† Vid. The shutting up of Houses soberly debated. Anno  
 1665.

|| Mead's Discourse, p. 56, 57.



‘ increasing it beyond what can be easily ima-  
 ‘ gined ; as appears from the Account, which  
 ‘ the learned *Gassendus* \* has given us of a  
 ‘ memorable Plague which happened at *Digne*  
 ‘ in *Provence*, where he lived, in the Year  
 ‘ 1619. This was so terrible, that in one  
 ‘ Summer out of ten thousand Inhabitants,  
 ‘ it left but fifteen hundred, and of them all  
 ‘ but five or six had gone through the Disease.  
 ‘ And he assigns this as the principal Cause  
 ‘ of the great Destruction, That the Citizens  
 ‘ were too closely confined, and not suffered  
 ‘ so much as to go to their Country Houses.  
 ‘ Whereas in another Pestilence, which broke  
 ‘ out in the same Place a Year and a half after,  
 ‘ more Liberty being allowed, there did not  
 ‘ die above one hundred Persons.’

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\* *Notitia Ecclesiæ Diniensis.*



## CH A P. II.

### *Of Methods of Prevention and of Cure.*

#### S E C T. I.

#### *Of the Means for preventing and keeping off the Plague.*

**T**HE mistaken Notion, which has obtained of late, that the Plague is propagated by means of infected Persons and Goods, and not from the Constitution of the Air, has misled People in these Parts of the World, and made them vainly to depend upon Lines, Barriers, and Quarantanes, for the preventing and keeping off the Pestilence: But that Notion having been proved false, and having before us likewise in the present Plague in *France* a melancholy and deplorable Instance of the Vanity and Insecurity of Walls, Lines, &c. it is high time for us to take warning by their Misfortunes, so as not to imitate them any more in their Follies, nor again, to run headlong into their fatal and irretrievable Mistakes and Practices; rather let us look out for some more rational and efficacious Methods whereby to secure ourselves against so dreadful a Calamity.

IT has been shewn, that nothing can expose a People to the Influences of an Epidemical or Pestilential Constitution of Air, so much as a general Fear and Perturbation of Mind; for when the Peoples Constitutions shall be weakened and disordered by their Fears and Frights, and by the distracting Thoughts of Restraints and Confinements, &c. since there is, and must be always, a Constitution of Air productive in some degree or other of Epidemical Diseases; if the reigning Constitution of Air should happen to have a very little more than ordinary noxious Influence; there being already a great and extraordinary Aptness and Disposition in the Peoples Constitutions, they would become exceedingly liable to, and susceptible of, its Impressions; that a great Mortality or the Plague might be produced, tho the Cause in itself should be comparatively slight, too slight otherwise to have occasioned a Pestilence; And this seems to me to be the present Case in *France*.

WHEREFORE if we would secure ourselves from this dreadful Evil; it is first of all and principally necessary that every thing which may countenance and promote the Deception, or occasion and keep up Fears, Terrors and Uneasinesses amongst the People, should forthwith be removed and taken away; accordingly it will be expedient to lay aside Quarantanes, and to disavow all Thoughts of Lines and Confinements.



If this were done, I am persuaded the Peoples Fears and Uneasinesses would soon vanish away; and if so, I can venture to say that there never was a time when we had less Reason to be apprehensive of a Pestilence than we have at this time; for setting aside these Fears and the Dreads of Confinement, almost all the Circumstances besides, that our Hearts can desire or wish for, conspire together for our Health and Security.

THIS will appear if we consider, that whereas a great Want or Scarcity of good and wholesome Provisions is wont oftentimes to precede a Pestilence, and may in some measure contribute to the producing it; we in this Island were never blessed with greater plenty of every thing necessary to the support of Life than at present.

WHEREAS an Intemperature of the Seasons usually goes before, and may sometimes be the occasion of the Plague, we of late have had the Benefit of mild and kindly Seasons only; And indeed, here has not appeared any one of the Signs which Authors generally agree are wont to precede the Plague; whence we may be assured of the present benevolent Disposition of our Air, and that there is no tendency to an unhealthy or pestilential Constitution.

MOREOVER, we in this City are better and more plentifully supplied with Water, than they are in most other Cities in the World; and nothing can be more conducive

cive to the preserving us in Health and securing us from the pestilential Diseases, than the having great plenty of good and wholesome Water distributed into every part of the Town. And it may be worthy the Consideration of our Governors, whether it be not proper to encourage still farther Supplies, so as that it may be allowed every where to run to waste.

As Wood-fires are generally disused, the Air we live and breathe in is not loaded as heretofore with acrimonious and irritating Fumes or Smoaks, such as Wood of every kind in burning, more or less emits. It may be added, that by means of the late Act for preventing and stopping Fires, the City becomes more and more open and airy every day than other.

THESE and several other auspicious Circumstances concurring, render it not in the least likely that we should be afflicted with the Plague, unless it be brought upon us by means of Quarantanes, or the Terrors which the unnatural and erroneous Notions before mentioned have spread amongst us.

HAVING pointed out the Advantages we enjoy at present, above what we have had in times past; it may be proper next to take notice of some prevailing Fashions, Customs, and Practices, which may have tendency to weaken and injure our Constitutions.

1. THE Fashion of burning a great Number of Candles at once. For by the way, if  
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Dr. Mead's Notion were true, that Infection is most easily received, and most tenaciously retained in Cotton, the burning it in such great Quantities in all Parts of the Town would expose us continually to the Plague: But besides, there is a much better Reason for being against this Fashion; for as it has been found by Experiment that a Candle does take from or deprive the Air of that peculiar Part or Property, which is more especially necessary to answer the Purposes and Uses of breathing; it follows that the Air of a Room in which a great many Candles are burning, cannot be so refreshing and beneficial as it otherwise would be; and the Persons breathing in it, when thus deprived of its most beneficial Part or Property, must thereby suffer Injury.

2. THE Fashion of turning Day into Night and Night into Day. This is running counter to Nature, and therefore must certainly be injurious, and render us in time infirm and sickly.

3. THE universal Custom of drinking strong Liquors, and that to great excess. This impoverishes the Blood, destroys the Tone of the Stomach, and occasions manifold Diseases.

4. THE universal and empirical Practice of letting Blood; for every Blood-letting takes away somewhat of the sanguifying Power, which is the Principle of animal Life; and tho it may be sometimes expedient to take

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away



away Blood, yet it ought not to be done but with the greatest Discretion. I have termed this Practice Empirical, because tho it may be prescribed according to Art, it is yet very often directed without Reason or Judgment: But it being now grown exceeding fashionable, even to the incredible Destruction of Mankind, it deserves to be more largely and particularly handled, than the Design of this present Work will admit of: however, since I am persuaded, that where one Person receives any Benefit from it, ten are destroyed thereby; I could not leave this Head without admonishing my Country-men for their own sakes to have a Care of Blood-letting.

As every one of the foregoing Customs and Practices must be in some measure injurious, a just Regulation and Amendment as to these Particulars is very requisite to the continuing and perpetuating amongst us the good State of Health we at present enjoy.

For this end likewise, I would recommend it to the Persons, whose proper Business it is, to take care that the Streets, especially in the out-Parts of the Town, be kept more clean than heretofore, and the Kennels every where clear of stoppages, that the foul Water may run off without impediment: The Goals and Prisons too should be better and more frequently cleansed, so as to be freed and preserved from all noisom Smells and Stench.

## S E C T. II.

*Of the Means of Preservation in case a Plague  
should befall us.*

**I**NSTEAD of shutting up Houses, and breaking off Intercourse and Commerce, let the Markets be continued as usual, and the People be encouraged to keep open their Shops, and to go on with their respective Trades and Employments.

**N**OTHING should be done which may in the least terrify and dishearten the People; on the contrary, all imaginable Care should be taken, to keep up their Spirits and Courage.

**L**ET none be afraid of attending upon and assisting the Sick; for, as I have shew'd before, they cannot possibly receive any Hurt, but may more probably find Safety and Security in so doing.

**F**IRES, as well in the Streets, as in the Chambers of the Sick, are most likely to prove hurtful, as having a tendency to prevent and impede the proper and laudable Secretions and Discharges.

**R**ATHER let the Water-cocks be opened and the Water be kept constantly running: for there is nothing can cool and refresh the Air so well as running Water; which likewise moves and purifies it, carrying off Smells



and Stenches, and causing it to let fall foreign Bodies floating in it.

IT may be proper and requisite to provide some Places for the Reception of the Poor, where they may be taken care of at the publick Expence : but it ought to be at the Choice and Desire of the People themselves, that any are put into these or any other Hospitals; for Compulsion must ever be mischievous, and therefore every one should be left at liberty to go to, or remain in, what Place soever he is minded.

THE Houses should be kept as open and as airy as Conveniency will permit; but the Windows must not be kept open in the Chambers of the Sick. The Rooms may be washed often, but they should be thoroughly dried before they are used.

SUDDEN and great Changes of all sorts are to be avoided; particularly when People have been heated, they must be very careful not to cool themselves too suddenly.

IT is best not to go abroad in a Morning with an empty Stomach, for so we are more susceptible of the Impressions of the Air; neither is it good to stay out very late at Night, nor to sleep exposed to the Air.

IN short, People in all Respects should observe that way of Living and Management as would be most likely at any other time to preserve and continue Health and Strength.

S E C T.



## S E C T. III

*Of the Cure of the Plague.*

**T**HE ranking many and different Diseases under one common Name, has been the occasion of manifold Errors and Mistakes. Hence I conceive it must have been, that some Persons have talked, and treated, of the Plague as if it had been always one and the same Disease, arising from one and the same Cause; whereas different Plagues have been as different from each other as any two Distempers can be. If those Persons, instead of being concluded by Names, would have given themselves the trouble to make a few Observations on the Nature and Causes of Diseases, it being by Observation only that any one can come at the Knowledge of Diseases and of Medicine, they would soon have been made sensible, that it is in the highest Degree improbable, if not altogether impossible, that the Plague, or any other epidemick Sicknes, should ever be twice in all respects the same.

SINCE therefore it is neither to be known whether there ever will be another Plague in *England*; nor, if it be our Destiny, when it will happen; nor yet of what special Nature it will be, if it should befall us; it is not easy under these Uncertainties to say beforehand, what particular Methods of Cure, or what  
par-

particular Medicines can be proper and profitable; so that there is no room to be very large upon this Head: it will be sufficient to take notice of some few Generals, such as Blood-letting, Purging, Vomiting, and the Class of Medicines commonly called Alexipharmicks.

AND if any Judgment can be made from the present Nature of our Climate and other Circumstances, there never can happen a Plague here in *England*, in which Blood-letting will not be found pernicious and fatal.

IF in any Plague, Purging can be used with Advantage, it must be done at the first Onset of the Disease; for afterwards, it may be feared it will generally prove injurious.

As Blood-letting must ever be suspected of Mischief; on the other hand, Vomiting rightly undertaken and managed will seldom fail of producing good and salutary Effects; provided the more gentle and kindly Medicines only be used for this Intention, and that they be exhibited at the beginning of the Sickness. The Ipecacuana Root, and white Vitriol or Salt of Vitriol, are the only Medicines proper in such Cases.

THE hotter Alexipharmicks, especially those which have Opium in their Composition, as Venice-Treacle, Mithridate, and the like, are to be avoided; for as they have a tendency to heat and inflame the Stomach and Blood, and as they greatly encrease the intestine Motion of the Fluids, they must in  
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some measure impede and prevent the proper Secretions. If ever they can be of use, it must be to the elder People, and not at the beginning of the Disease, and the Patient must drink a large Quantity of Posset-Drink after the taking them. The more temperate Alexipharmicks and the milder Sudorificks may generally be prescribed with more Safety, and better Prospect of Success; such as *Lap. Contrayerva*, *Antimon. Diaphoretic.* with *Sal Absynthii*, or *Sal V. C. C.* &c.

THERE is one thing more I shall take notice of, and that is the Practice of Blistering, which of late prevails so much, that Blisters are now applied almost in all Cases whatsoever, often improperly, and much oftner without measure or proportion. People seem not to have any Notion that Blistering can be overdone, or that too great Discharges can be made this way: but this is a mischievous Error; for with respect to external Applications, as well as internal Medicines, there must be a proper *Quantum*, any thing beyond which is Excess. I would have it therefore be observed, that Blisters may not be proper in every Plague, no more than in all other Distempers; and even when they are, that then they may be used in undue Measure, or to Excess.

F I N I S.



...the medicine impede and prevent the pro-  
per operation. If ever they can be of  
service, it must be to the elder People, and not  
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more must think a large Quantity of Matter  
is taken after the taking them. The more  
the matter is taken, and the matter is  
more generally be prohibited with  
the taking, and better Prospect of Success;  
such as the following, which is the  
most proper.

### ERRATA in the first Part,

**P**REFACE, Page 6. Line 1. read Coopera-  
tion of the Imagination. P. 10. l. 1. read by  
being. DISCOURSE, p. 9. l. 2. delete only.  
P. 11. l. 1. delete his. P. 11. l. 2. r. even then we  
should not. P. 69. l. 7. r. by which alone the Sick

### ERRATA in the second Part.

P. Age 6, Line 6. for of necessity read probably.  
P. 8. l. 22. read operate upon human Bodies.  
P. 14. l. 22. delete such as. P. 24. l. 2. delete the  
which is a word. I would have it therefore be  
observed that Blitters may not be proper in  
every Place, no more than in all other Diseases.  
parts, and even when they are, that they may  
may be used in such a manner, or to Effects.